

The Armenian Communities in Syria under Ottoman Dominion

By
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TO MY WIFE

Preface

THIS WORK BEGAN as a study of the social and economic institutions of the Armenian communities in nineteenth-century Syria, with predominant attention to the Armenian documents. Three important factors, however, necessitated a revision of the original plan. The first of these was that practically all the social institutions under study had existed for many centuries prior to the nineteenth, and therefore meaningful discussion required adequate and substantial background information. Secondly, my researches had provided a large amount of data pertaining to these communities not only under four centuries of Ottoman dominion, but from the very beginnings of the Armenian associations with this area. And, thirdly, since my investigations revealed that the Armenians there had not organized themselves into guilds or separate economic institutions, it became apparent that I must confine myself to an examination of their economic activities only. These considerations, as well as the documentary evidence at hand, dictated both an extension and a limitation of the scope of my discussion.

Briefly stated, the present work is a detailed study of the evolution and internal organization of the Armenian communities and their social institutions in Syria throughout the entire Ottoman era, against the background of their historical associations with the area prior to the advent of the Ottomans in the beginning of the sixteenth century. The discussion is further limited, almost exclusively, to those institutions which belonged to the major "national" church; the more recent and less numerous dissident communities, namely the Catholic (Uniate) and Protestant, are studied in a separate monograph to be published by the Harvard Center for Middle Eastern Studies.

Unless the reference is to the post-World War I period, the term "Syria" is used in its historic or traditional rather than modern sense. This geographical unit is defined as the area stretching from the Taurus Mountains in the north to the Sinai Peninsula

in the south, and from the Mediterranean Sea on the west to the Syrian Desert on the east.

The communities in Syria, which are studied as one segment in the mosaic complex of the diverse populations of this area, constituted an integral part of the Armenian millet of the Ottoman empire. Because the history of these communities is closely linked to that of the larger and stronger groups in Constantinople and Asia Minor, and in view of the intimate involvement of the millet's religious and secular leaders at the capital with the communities in Syria, the discussion of the evolution of the Syrian communities is presented within the framework of the millet as a whole.

It must be emphasized that, since the Armenian national church was the single major institution which guided and influenced practically every aspect of Armenian community life, the study concentrates, in the main, on the religious institutions. This fact brings out, I believe, one important aspect in the life of the non-Muslim communities which is often underestimated in studies of the Ottoman empire.

It is hoped that this work, concentrating essentially on the history of the Armenian church and her organization in Syria, will be of interest to those who are concerned with Eastern Christianity. Further, since the Armenian church was one of the three Christian communities which had ancient and considerable rights in the Holy Places (a fact which is little known and appreciated), and because it always maintained an important establishment in Jerusalem to safeguard those interests and look after the numerous pilgrims who visited the city, it is hoped that the discussion of the custodianship of the Holy Places will throw light on the struggle for power among various minorities, political groups in the Ottoman capital, and the European embassies over the dominical sites in the Holy Land.

On the other hand, this work does not give a complete conspectus of the political, social, and economic relations of the Armenian community in Syria with the Ottoman authorities, with other Syrian communities, and the European mercantile agencies. The study of all these different aspects and fields of Armenian activity would have required the labors of several students, or the whole lifetime of one individual, who, moreover, would have to spend many years in working through the Ottoman archives.

This I have not attempted to do; rather, I have concentrated on a thorough examination of the inner life of the Armenian community itself, particularly its dominant ecclesiastical institutions. Only after this, it seems to me, would it be possible to develop the study of the community in its wider ramifications.

Although not a major aspect of this study, it is inevitable that frequent mention should be made of the relations of the Ottoman government — on both the central and local levels — with the authorities of the Armenian millet and with the various communities and institutions in Syria. Reference to the other minority groups in Syria has been made only insofar as they affected the Armenian settlers and their establishments.

The secular history of the Armenian Syrian communities is far from adequately illustrated by the limited Armenian-language sources. For instance, it is known that under Ottoman dominion Armenian merchants controlled much of the trade of the Middle East and Central Asia, and that much of the economic and social power of the secular Armenian community, particularly in Aleppo, stemmed from its important role in commerce and finance. A study of these aspects of Armenian activity might be expected to throw valuable light on the organization of international trade among Europe, the Middle East, and farther Asia; the relations of urban and rural communities in Syria; and the role of Christian and Jewish bankers in the Ottoman administration. Regrettably, however, the Armenian documents contain little detailed information on the economic activities and foreign relations of the Syrian communities; hence, for these aspects other source materials will have to be exploited. Because of this, the commercial and financial role of the Armenians in the Ottoman administration is presented in this book only in general terms, and the major emphasis has been on the economic activities and occupations of the communities scattered throughout Syria.

Finally, there exists a vast amount of literature on the Armenian revolutionary and nationalist movement in the second half of the nineteenth century, on the sources of its inspiration, its aims, and so forth. This material is for the most part so extremely biased that only a fresh and archival search (especially in the Ottoman archives) for definitive and objective facts would provide a solid basis for further work in this area. The discussion of the nationalist problem in this work is, of course, relevant only

insofar as the breakdown of the ancient symbiosis between the Turks and Armenians affected the communities in Syria politically, physically, and economically.

The preponderant use of Armenian-language sources was a part of the original design of the study — that is, to make available materials hitherto inaccessible to scholars who do not read Armenian. Indeed, a good deal of the information provided in this work is based upon hitherto untapped materials, particularly Armenian periodicals. A number of the principal sources utilized here are briefly evaluated in the extensive bibliography and notes. In addition to those in European languages, I have made use of a number of Turkish and Arabic primary and secondary source materials.

I should like to think that, despite the limitations stated above, the present work may have the value of a pioneering effort. It is also hoped that similar studies by other scholars of other Syrian minorities would eventually make possible the preparation of a definitive work on the status and role of the non-Muslim elements in historic Syria under Ottoman rule.

A word or two must be said about the systems of transliteration employed for Armenian, Arabic, and Turkish proper names and other terminology. European Armenologists and linguists generally employ the system originally devised by H. Hübschmann and later revised by A. Meillet for classical Armenian. For practical reasons I have used the Library of Congress transliteration system, with the phonology of the modern eastern literary dialect of Armenian as the basis for rendering the consonants. For Arabic, I have adopted the system used by most English-speaking scholars, in particular by Professor Philip K. Hitti in his *History of the Arabs*; and for Ottoman-Turkish nomenclature and terms, I have followed the modern Latin-script orthography. In both instances, however, I have eliminated the diacritical marks. Finally, commonly used Anglicized spellings of certain Armenian, Arabic, and Turkish proper names have been retained in this study.

I have a distinct and genuine sense of obligation to a number of individuals and institutions whose assistance and cooperation in the preparation of this work have been bulwarks of encouragement. Sir Hamilton A. R. Gibb, Director of the Center for Middle Eastern Studies at Harvard, not only suggested the study but

was ever ready to give me the benefit of his wide experience and wise counsel. Dr. Sirarpie Der Nersessian, Henri Focillon Professor (Emerita) of Byzantine Art and Archaeology at Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C., and a noted Armenologist, most generously read the first draft of the manuscript; her discerning comments and criticisms, as well as suggestions of a number of primary sources relating in particular to the introductory sections, were of incalculable value. And my colleague Dr. Stanford J. Shaw, who kindly read a number of chapters, made important suggestions pertaining to Ottoman history and was of great assistance in providing me with bibliographical data. To all of these individuals my gratitude is truly profound.

A special debt, too, must be acknowledged to the Abbots-General and the congregations of the Armenian Mekhitarist monasteries at Venice and Vienna. Their generous cooperation enabled me to make full use of their rich collections of Armenian books and periodicals during the summer of 1958. And I owe a personal debt of gratitude to the staff of the Center for Middle Eastern Studies for their unfailing helpfulness in the preparation of the manuscript: to Mrs. Martha Smith who patiently read over my manuscript and to Miss Carolyn Cross and Miss Brenda Sens who prepared the typescript. Finally, my profound thanks to Mrs. Margaretta Fulton of the Harvard University Press staff for her editorial assistance.

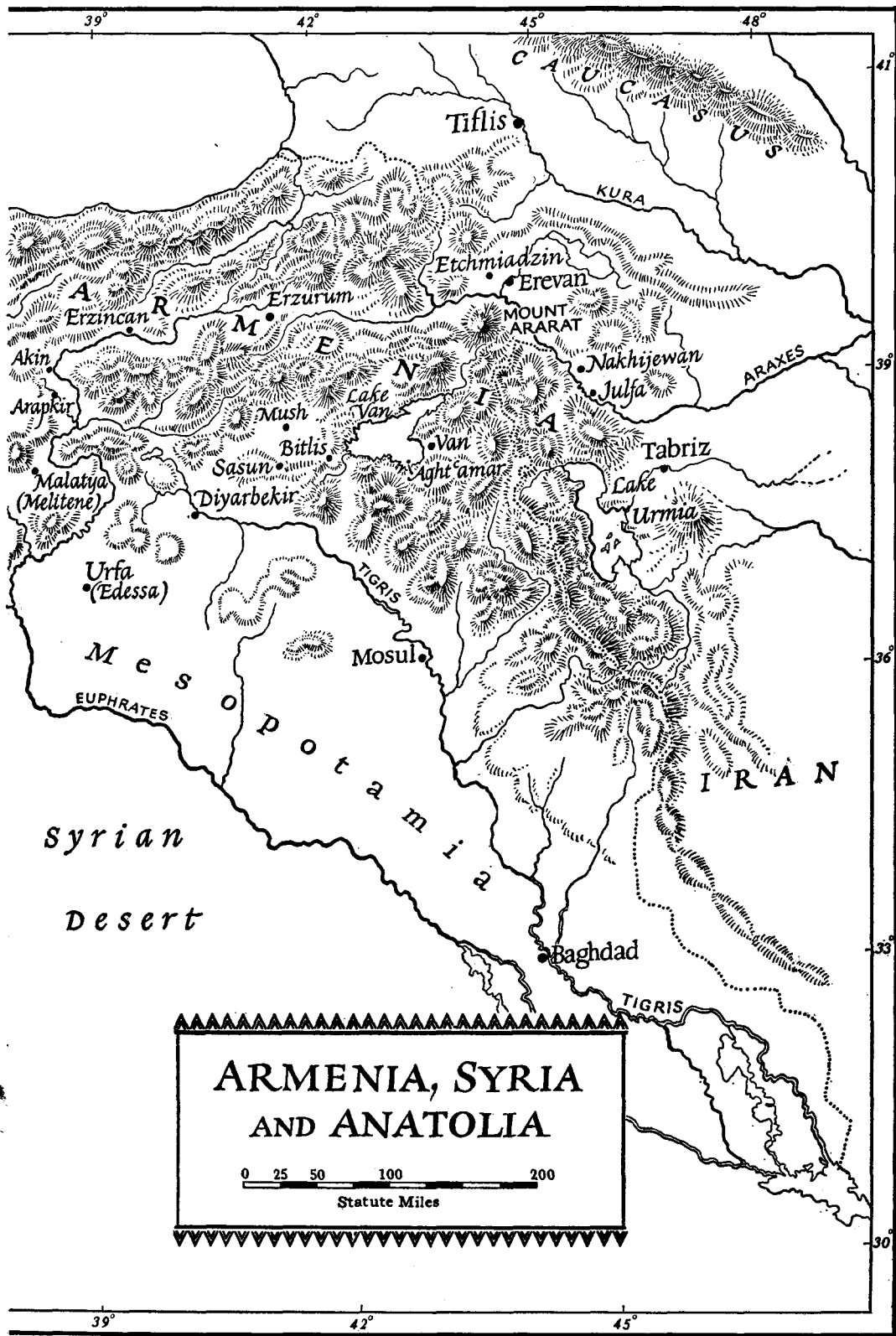
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ARMENIA, SYRIA AND ANATOLIA

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Statute Miles

CHAPTER I

The Armenians in Cilicia and Syria before the Ottomans

AS EARLY AS the first millennium B.C. the Armenian people settled in their historic homeland, whose boundaries were roughly the Trans-Caucasus and the Pontus in the north, the Taurus range in the south, the present-day Turco-Iranian boundary on the east, and the Euphrates River in the west. This mountainous country was coveted at various times by its powerful neighbors: Greeks, Romans, and the Byzantines on the west; Medes, Persians, Arabs, and Turks on the east and south. The eastern powers strove to control this highland which provided easy access into Asia Minor; the western powers sought possession of the valleys of the Euphrates and of the tributaries of the Tigris which led into Iran and eastern Mesopotamia. From time immemorial, therefore, the Armenians were compelled to emigrate from their native country to neighboring as well as distant lands, and a number of Armenian colonies were founded abroad.¹

Armenian associations with Syria began as early as the Achaemenid period (6th-4th centuries B.C.). Within the bounds of this ancient Persian empire, Armenia constituted part of the thirteenth satrapy,² which was contiguous on the southwest to the fifth satrapy of Syria. Armenian settlers and traders were found in the Achaemenid territories of the Pontus, Cappadocia, and Com-magene, as well as Cilicia and Syria. As mercenaries in the imperial armies they participated in practically all the wars waged by the Persians against the Scythians, Greeks, and Egyptians.³ Subsequent to the death of Alexander the Great in 323 B.C., the Armenian vassals of the Achaemenids recognized the suzerainty of the Seleucids.⁴ During their long associations with the Seleucids,

Armenians settled in large numbers not only in the basins of the Lycos and Halys rivers but also in the territories west of the Euphrates and in northern Syria, in particular the capital of Antioch.⁵

In 189 B.C. the Armenian princes Artaxias (Artashēs) and Zariadris (Zareh), who governed Armenia as vassals of the Seleucids, took advantage of the defeat of Antiochus the Great by the Romans near Magnesia (190 B.C.) to establish two independent kingdoms, the first in Armenia Major and the second in Armenia Minor (Sophene-Arzanene).⁶ In the first century B.C. a descendant of Artaxias, Tigranes the Great (95–55 B.C.), not only united all Armenia under his scepter but established at the expense of the Parthians and the Seleucids a vast Armenian empire. At its peak this empire extended from the Caspian Sea and the Kura River in the north to the Mediterranean and the borders of Egypt, and from Media on the east to Roman-occupied Cappadocia and the mountainous regions of Cilicia on the west. Unlike Palestine, southern Syria, and the Phoenician coast south of Ptolemais (Acre), which merely recognized Tigranes' suzerainty, northern Syria and Cilicia Pedias were integrated into his empire as a satrapy, with Antioch as its capital.⁷ During his short-lived hegemony Tigranes transplanted to Armenia and his capital of Tigranocerta a considerable number of native inhabitants from the territories which he occupied. Probably an appreciable number of Armenians were transplanted to Syria and the Levantine coastal regions, some of whom remained there even after Tigranes' defeat at the hands of the Romans.⁸

After Tigranes, Armenia was reduced more and more to the role of a buffer state between the Roman and the Parthian empires, which in A.D. 387 divided the country into two vassal states. The Persian domination of Persarmenia, which constituted the eastern four fifths of the country, never succeeded in implanting itself firmly, for the Sasanids in particular persecuted Armenian Christianity and sought to supplant it with Mazdaism.⁹ The armed resistance of the Armenians against the superior Persian forces at the battle of Awarayr in 451,¹⁰ considered to be the first war ever waged in defense of the Christian religion, was a significant turning point in Perso-Armenian relations, for henceforth the Armenians were able to practice their religion with greater freedom.

The relations between the Armenians and Byzantium, which controlled the western one fifth of Armenia, were at first marked by a community of interests, particularly vis-à-vis the Sasanids. The rejection by the Armenian church of the Council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451) in the beginning of the sixth century, however, brought about a steady deterioration in Armeno-Byzantine relations. Henceforward, the Armenian church having seceded from the communion of the church of Byzantium became the stronghold of Armenian nationalism and the principal factor of national unity. Fully cognizant of this, the Byzantine emperors and the clergy sought, in pursuance of their assimilatory policies, to eliminate not only the feudal families of Armenia but also the autonomy of the Armenian church — the first in order to weaken the political resistance to Byzantium, and the second to bring the Armenians into the Orthodox fold. In the furtherance of these objectives, they employed every means of persuasion, intimidation, and above all persecution. Mass deportations of the native population from Greek-held western Armenia to other Byzantine territories was but one of the measures.¹¹

The official recognition of Christianity by Constantine the Great, and the construction of the dominical sanctuaries at Jerusalem and Bethlehem in the first half of the fourth century, induced numerous pilgrims to see for themselves the places hallowed by Christ. The extent of the pilgrimage can be judged by the fact that by the beginning of the fifth century the number of monasteries and hostels in the Holy City where pilgrims could be housed was over three hundred.¹² The same period, especially from the fourth to the sixth centuries, witnessed the rise of monasticism and asceticism centered in regularly organized monastic institutions and in hermit caves. Early church historians attest to the fact that the initial monasteries in the Holy City and its environs were multiracial and that the devotional services were conducted in various vernaculars.¹³

Along with other Christian groups, Armenians began to arrive in Jerusalem in substantial numbers as pilgrims and as residents after the proclamation of Christianity as the official religion of their country in the beginning of the fourth century. They at first shared the multiracial monastic facilities, but in due time, not unlike the others, they founded a number of private monasteries and churches throughout the Holy Land. The actual extent of

these establishments cannot be easily determined. A widely published document attributed to a seventh-century monk, Anastas Vardapet, contains a list of seventy monasteries and churches which the Armenians are said to have owned in that century in Jerusalem and its environs.¹⁴ But this interesting text, which hitherto has never been questioned, is of doubtful authenticity. Though probably containing a core of truth going back to an earlier document, in the form in which the work is preserved there are many elements which clearly show that it is not reliable.¹⁵ Nevertheless, there is ample evidence that the Armenians did indeed have important religious institutions in the early Christian centuries, albeit not to the extent claimed by the document attributed to Anastas.

The existence of these establishments at an early date is confirmed by the fact that in the mid-fifth century, that is, less than half a century after the inception of the national literature, the Armenians had established a scriptorium in Jerusalem.¹⁶ Evidence of a fully organized Armenian religious community there is also furnished by the extant Armenian *Tōnakan* (Lectionary), a translation of the Greek liturgy – or Christian liturgy in general – as it was performed in the Holy City in the fifth century.¹⁷ More importantly, it is substantiated by the remains of mosaic pavements with Armenian inscriptions found on the Mt. of Olives and in Jerusalem, as well as by one with a Greek inscription which mentions an Armenian.¹⁸ Among these, that in the funerary chapel in the Musrara Quarter of Jerusalem, outside the Damascus gate, is the most important. Though scholars are not in complete agreement respecting the exact dates of these mosaic pavements, various suggestions have been made that they are as early as the fifth and no later than the ninth to tenth centuries.¹⁹ These artistic remains provide ample and most reliable evidence for the presence of Armenians in Jerusalem and its environs and for the important religious institutions which they had maintained there from the Byzantine period to the time of Arab rule. It can, perhaps, be conjectured that future archaeological excavations may reveal other mosaic pavements and inscriptions which will supplement present information on the extent of the Armenian ecclesiastical institutions in the Holy Land.

Religious harmony among the heterogeneous Christian communities at Jerusalem was not seriously affected for a whole cen-

ture after the wide breach occasioned by the decisions of the controversial Council of Chalcedon, for all Christians remained under the spiritual authority of the bishop of Jerusalem. The persecutions of the monophysites, among them the Armenians, were initiated by the Byzantine Emperor Justin I (518–527) and reached their climax during the reign of his successor, Justinian I (527–565), a staunch adherent of the Chalcedonian creed. The hostility of the Greek political and religious authorities to the monophysites not only split asunder the unity of the Church of Jerusalem but also adversely affected the status of the nonconformists.

Byzantine domination in Palestine and Syria came to an end in the first half of the seventh century. The Muslim Arabs from the Arabian Peninsula had occupied several strategic towns in Syria. It was to check their further advance that the Armenian-born Emperor Heraclius (610–641) mustered from the vicinity of Antioch and Aleppo an army of some fifty thousand mercenaries, mostly Armenians and local Arabs.²⁰ The crushing defeat of this army by the Arabs at the battle of Yarmuk in 636 sealed Byzantium's doom. Jerusalem surrendered to Caliph Umar I in 638. The terms of the capitulation allegedly offered by the caliph to the non-Muslim inhabitants of the city are preserved in several versions.²¹ The authenticity of this charter seems highly questionable,²² but its terms essentially reflect the Arab policy vis-à-vis the non-Muslim subjects under their dominion generally. Although Arab policy in the main was based upon the principle of legal, political, and social inequality between the Muslim conquerors and the subject peoples, among the latter the *ahl al-kitab* (people of the book or scriptuaries, namely the Christians, Jews, and Sabians)²³ were given the status of tolerated peoples. In return for Muslim protection (*dhimmah*), these sects were subject to the land (*kharaj*) and capitation (*jizyah*) taxes; and, since only a Muslim could draw his sword in defense of the lands of Islam, the *dhimmis* were exempt from military duty. In matters of civil and criminal judicial procedure the tolerated communities were left under the jurisdiction of their own spiritual leaders.²⁴ In the case of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the Christians were granted religious liberty and security for their lives, property, and churches; and in return they were to pay the *jizyah* and to assist the Arab rulers in warding off Byzantine troops and raiders.

Although the Christians of the Holy Land labored under the weight of the capitation tax, and in consequence their institutions suffered heavy losses in property holdings, they were nevertheless generally well treated until the days of Caliph Umar II (717-720). Beginning with this ruler, and especially under the Fatimid al-Hakim (996-1021), the Christian subjects suffered humiliating restrictions and discriminatory practices.²⁵ Al-Hakim destroyed many Christian churches throughout his dominions, including the Holy Sepulcher at Jerusalem; but after his death there was a reaction in favor of religious toleration.²⁶

The Arab occupation of Greater Armenia,²⁷ which lasted from the close of the seventh to the middle of the ninth century, marked a new phase in Armeno-Syrian relations. During their early marauding expeditions, beginning in 639/40, the Arabs not only plundered several provinces but also carried off thousands of native captives to the territories adjacent to the Euphrates, principally to Edessa, Antioch, and northern Syria.²⁸ The Byzantines at first sought to prevent the establishment of Arab rule in Armenia. Later, after the Arabs' definitive occupation of the country, they endeavored to secure the alliance of the Armenians against the Arabs as a preliminary to their reoccupation of Armenia, and therefore encouraged them in their periodic rebellions against Arab domination. The Armenians, of course, dreaded the yokes of Byzantines and Arabs equally, and therefore played the one against the other in the hope of regaining their independence.

In contrast to the policies of Byzantium, the Arabs during their occupation of Armenia showed a greater degree of tolerance toward Armenian Christianity, and unlike the Greeks they did not threaten Armenian national existence through a policy of assimilation. Indeed, the Arabs provided a haven in their territories for those Armenians who were victimized by the religious persecutions of Byzantium. For instance, when in 711-713 Emperor Philippicus expelled a large group of Armenians from Asia Minor for refusing to conform to the Greek Orthodox faith, the Arabs permitted these refugees to settle not only in Armenia proper but also in the regions of Melitene and northern Syria.²⁹ Many were enlisted in the Muslim frontier guards in the Taurus Mountains and in Mesopotamia to defend these lands against Byzantine attacks. On the other hand, the Arabs countered with ruthless reprisals all Armenian attempts to rid their country of

Arab rule.³⁰ The greatest and most fiercely fought insurrection occurred in 851/2. In order to guard against the recurrence of such uprisings, large numbers of Armenian nobility were carried off into captivity and a segment of the population of the province of Tarōn was dispersed to all parts of the Arab empire, particularly northern Syria.³¹

Armenia regained her independence in the ninth century for a brief time. In 862 Caliph al-Mutawakkil recognized the Armenian feudal lord Ashot Bagratuni as "prince of princes of Armenia, of Georgia, and of the lands of the Caucasus"; and in 886 Caliph al-Mu'tamid conferred on him the title of "king of kings" and sent him a royal crown. Shortly afterwards he received the same distinction and a crown from the Byzantine Emperor Alexander. Ashot paid tribute regularly to the caliphate but administered his territories independently.³²

The political unity of Armenia was short-lived, however, for the traditional rivalries among the provincial lords prevented the Bagratuni kings of Ani from exercising authority beyond the limits of their feudal domain, so that by the second half of the tenth century there were as many as six independent kingdoms and several smaller principalities in Armenia. These divisive tendencies were of course consonant with both Arab and Byzantine policies, neither of which wanted a strong and united Armenia capable of resisting them, and hence both encouraged the dynastic dissensions. On the other hand, the wars between these two powers continued without interruption and were at times fought out in Armenia. In 963-965 Emperor Nicephorus Phocas succeeded in recapturing Cilicia, the Amanus, and northwestern Syria from the Arabs, all of which remained in Byzantine hands for more than a century. It is noteworthy that the outflow of Muslims from these territories was accompanied by a considerable inflow of Armenians, stimulated by the Byzantine practice of using Armenian officers to defend the country against Arab reconquest.³³ Moreover, in 999 Emperor Basil II transplanted a sizable number of Armenians to Caesarea in Syria, on the Orontes River.³⁴

In the beginning of the eleventh century Byzantium took advantage of Armenia's weakness to annex the country bit by bit. Between 1000 and 1064 the Byzantines gained control of the provinces of Tayk', Akhlat', Arjēsh, and Berkri, and the kingdoms

of Vaspurakan, Kars, and Ani. They recompensed the Armenian rulers of these territories with themes in Sebastia (Sivas), Caesarea, and Charsianon and Tzamandos in Cappadocia.³⁵ The effect of these developments was threefold. In the first place, the Armenian kingdoms and principalities disappeared one by one, and the greater part of historic Armenia came under the direct control of Byzantium. Secondly, the emperors' encouragement of the Armenian nobility to settle in Greek territories weakened the protection of their eastern frontier. This facilitated the Turkoman Seljuk raids into Armenia. And, thirdly, when the Armenian nobility were dispossessed of their ancestral lands and were granted, in return, domains in Byzantine territories, a large wave of Armenian emigrants accompanied them to these regions which had already been settled by their fellow countrymen at an earlier period.

It should be noted that the Armenians constituted a most important ethnic minority within the Byzantine empire, and some even ascended the imperial throne. These Armenian monarchs of course belonged to the Orthodox faith and their religio-political policies toward Armenia were essentially the same as those pursued by the Greek emperors. Indeed, the religious persecutions under the Emperors Maurice, Philippicus, and Romanus Lecapenus, who were of Armenian origin, were more severe than those perpetrated by the Greek monarchs. On the other hand, although these Armeno-Greek rulers were dedicated to the greatness and glory of the Byzantine empire, they were not entirely oblivious of their origin, as attested by the fact that they kept many Armenians in their immediate entourage and many more attained high positions in the Byzantine civil administration and became some of the empire's most famous generals.³⁶

Nevertheless, the relations between Byzantium and the Armenians always remained troubled, principally on account of the former's unremitting efforts to secure the conformity of the Armenian church to the Chalcedonian doctrine of the Greek church, as well as its endeavors to bring about assimilation of the Armenians. With the Byzantine occupation of Armenia in the eleventh century, the prospect of achieving these objectives would have been brighter than ever had not the Greeks, led by Emperor Romanus, suffered a decisive defeat at the hands of the Seljuks at Manzikert in 1071. This historic event not only terminated the

Byzantine rule in Armenia once and for all, but also marked the end of Armenian political independence. The Seljuks easily incorporated into their empire the whole of Armenia, as well as Cappadocia and most of Asia Minor.³⁷ The devastation of Armenia accentuated the emigration, which had already been set in motion by Byzantine policy, in the direction of the Taurus Mountains, the Cilician plain, the Amanus, and northern Syria.

The substantial numbers and the considerable influence of the Armenian settlers in these regions are apparent as early as the eighth century, as attested by the elevation of Theodore, son of Vicarius from Lesser Armenia, to the historic patriarchal see of Antioch in 752.³⁸ The Syrian prelate Dionysius Barsalibi (died 1171)³⁹ asserts that following the doctrinal union effected in 726 between the Syrian Patriarch Mar Athanasius and Catholicos Hovhannēs Ōdznets'i at Manzikert,⁴⁰ the Armenians "began to come down little by little to Syria." Because these émigrés "had neither a priest nor a bishop in Syria," and therefore joined the local Chalcedonians or the Julianists, Catholicos Hovhannēs dispatched, at the suggestion of Athanasius, three Armenian bishops to the region. Athanasius also placed a Syrian monastery at their disposal, where Armenian and Syrian pupils engaged in literary endeavors.⁴¹ Barsalibi contends that after the death of Athanasius and Hovhannēs the Armenians "broke their engagements and committed injustices" against the Syrians by seizing their villages, monasteries, and churches, particularly in the Black Mountain region (the Amanus). He claims that the Armenians were still in unlawful possession of the Syrian properties some 440 years after their arrival in these territories.

Certain Armenians in these regions had been appointed by the Byzantine emperors as governors of important cities and also as commanders of imperial armies. Gradually, however, a number of the Armenian officials took advantage of the weakening of the central authority to break off the ties that bound them to the empire.⁴²

The barony founded in Cilicia by the Armenian Prince Reuben, who declared his independence from Byzantium in 1080, proved to be the most important and enduring of the Armenian principalities established between the Byzantine and Arab domains.⁴³ The emergence of this state, and its intimate associations with the Crusaders and the subsequently established Frankish principalities

ties of Edessa, Antioch, and Tripoli and the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem,⁴⁴ marked a significant turning point in the fortunes of the Armenians in historic Syria. The Frankish-Armenian community of political interests, the religious bonds which united them, and finally intermarriage among the Armenian nobility in Cilicia and the ruling classes of the Crusaders — all these contributed to the sizable increase of Armenians in these territories.

From its inception the Armenian barony, surrounded as it was by powerful neighbors, enjoyed only brief periods of peace. Byzantium, its chief adversary, could not tolerate the creation of an independent state on its Cilician territories and frequently tried to restore its authority in the country. Except for the brief period of 1137–1145, when the Greeks occupied all the strategic points, these efforts were generally unsuccessful. The barony's friendly relations with the Frankish principalities lasted only as long as the interests of both parties were not at variance. Indeed, soon after the Crusaders' entrenchment practically all the Armenian possessions outside Cilicia passed into Frankish hands. Thus, the maintenance of the barony's freedom dictated the pursuance of a policy of caution vis-à-vis its neighbors, which was further complicated by the establishment of the Seljuk sultanate of Konya.

Despite this delicate balance of power, the Cilician barony was able to maintain its position as a vital Christian state even after the gradual disintegration of the Latin hegemony in the Levant. Indeed, the position of Prince Leon II (1187–1219) had become so strong that he succeeded in raising his barony to the status of a kingdom. In 1198 he received a royal crown from the German Emperor Henry VI and from Pope Celestine III. It is asserted that some time later the Byzantine Emperor Alexius III Angelus sent him another crown as well. Thus, having lost their independence in historic Armenia, the Armenians were able not only to establish a new home on the shores of the Mediterranean, but to restore their ancient kingdom. The Cilician state, which reached its apogee under Leon and extended its territories from Isauria to the Amanus, attracted so many Armenians that the region could with justice be referred to as a "Little Armenia." This greatest of all the Cilician rulers established mutually beneficial alliances with many of the contemporary chiefs of state, maintained cordial relations with the papacy, and secured the friendship and support of the Latin Hospitalers and Teutonic Knights by granting them a number of fortresses in his domain.⁴⁵

As seen earlier, long before the advent of the Latins the Armenians already constituted an important proportion of the populations of the regions of Edessa and Antioch. With the entrenchment of the Crusaders in the valley of the Orontes and the Levantine coastal region, an appreciable number of Armenians from Cilicia and the Amanus colonized these lands as well. Hence, in addition to the Antioch region, the hinterland towns of Emessa and the maritime towns of Alexandretta, Seleucia, Laodicea (Latakia), and Tripoli became the new habitat of Armenian settlers. In due time these colonizers organized themselves into ecclesiastical units as evidenced by the fact that the Armenian church council, held at Hromklay in 1179, was also attended by a number of prelates representing the episcopal seats in Syria and Palestine. Among these specific mention is made of the bishops of Antioch, Cyprus, Apamea (Hama), Laodicea, and Jerusalem.⁴⁶

After the barony was raised to the status of a kingdom, its sovereigns were recognized in that capacity not only by the inhabitants of Cilicia and the communities mentioned above, but by the other settlements in Palestine as well as those in the Latin fortress cities east and south of the Dead Sea.⁴⁷

It is known that a number of Cilician princesses were married to the Latin princes of Tyre and Sidon. Arab geographers assert that subsequent to its occupation by Baldwin I in 1104 Acre had a mixed population.⁴⁸ Included was an Armenian element which in the middle of the twelfth century had its own hostel. In 1190 Guy de Lusignan awarded this establishment to the Teutonic Knights. In the middle of the thirteenth century there was still a large Armenian community at Acre, as attested by the fact that in 1248 they had a prince.⁴⁹ This was the period when, after Saladin's conquest of Jerusalem, Acre had become the principal center of Christian power in Palestine.

An artistically carved wooden door found in the church of the Nativity, executed in 1227 during the reign of King Het'um I (1226-1270) of Cilicia and bearing inscriptions in Arabic and Armenian,⁵⁰ attests not only to the existence of an Armenian community at Bethlehem but also to the important privileges which it enjoyed in this hallowed Christian sanctuary. Whether or not the old and large Armenian monastery immediately adjacent to the basilica dates back to this period cannot be easily determined.⁵¹

Under the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem (1099-1187) the Arme-

nian religious and secular communities enjoyed a period of prominence and prosperity, perhaps never attained before or after, which can be attributed to a number of factors. To begin with, almost all the Latin queens and a substantial number of the princesses were either Armenian or of Armenian blood.⁵² The kingdom had in its service an infantry corps of Armenians.⁵³ In addition to a sizable number of ecclesiastics, there was a substantial secular community as well. These colonists had a number of private hostels or inns, and they also occupied several quarters in the city, one of which was known as "Ruga Armenorum" as late as the year 1222.⁵⁴

During and after the Latin rule in Palestine, a number of Armenian princes⁵⁵ and prelates⁵⁶ from Cilicia visited the Holy City, and not only left important memories of their munificence to the local community but also secured significant privileges for it from the Frankish authorities. Among these, Catholicos Grigor III Pahlawuni (1113-1166) attended the Latin church council held at Antioch in 1141, and then accompanied the papal legate Albericus on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, where he was given a place of honor at a second Latin council. In consequence of the considerably enhanced bond of friendship between the Latins and the Armenians which was consummated on this occasion, the Armenian community not only secured important privileges guaranteeing the continued prosperity of the institutions which it already possessed, but was also able to increase the number of its monasteries and hostels in the Holy City.⁵⁷

In the middle of the eleventh century the Georgians secured the ancient martyrion of St. Minas on Mount Zion in Jerusalem, and in 1070 they built a church on the same site dedicated to St. James the Major. In the following century, however, they were compelled, for some unknown reason, to cede this church and monastery to the local Armenian community. In 1165, subsequent to the visit of Catholicos Grigor, the Armenians erected the large cathedral of St. James, consisting of a complex of sanctuaries including the chapels containing the tombs of St. Makar and St. Minas. The accommodations of the monastery were considerably enlarged not only for the benefit of the local monastics but also for the countless Armenian pilgrims who annually arrived in the Holy City. Since the twelfth century the cathedral and its monastery have remained in the possession of the local Armenian com-

munity, although, as will be seen below, the Greeks periodically laid claims to them, especially after the Ottoman conquest of Jerusalem.⁵⁸ In later times the limits of the monastery were extended through the acquisition or purchase of adjacent lands. The whole complex, consisting of many buildings, occupies a dominating position on Mount Zion in the southwestern elevation of the city.

In the twelfth century the Latin fortress cities east and south of the Dead Sea constituted part of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, which administered them through princes. The prosperous trade of this region attracted many Christians, including perhaps Armenians as well.⁵⁹ The first historical reference to Armenian associations with this area dates back to the second half of the twelfth century, when Prince Reuben of Cilicia married the daughter of Prince Renald de Châtillon of Kerak.⁶⁰ In 1257 the combined forces of King Het'um I of Cilicia and the Mongol Khan Hulagu occupied the territories east of the Jordan River, which remained under Armenian dominion for seven years (1257–1264), until their seizure by the Mamelukes.⁶¹ The fact that King Leon IV of Cilicia, after a visit to Jerusalem in 1330, donated an expensive manuscript to the Armenian church of Kerak⁶² testifies to the importance of the community in this outlying region. There is also some evidence of an Armenian settlement at the town of Salt, where they had a small church named after St. George.⁶³

The capture of Edessa in 1144 by the Turkish Atabeg Zangi, ruler of Mosul and Aleppo, had marked the beginning of Muslim military operations against the Latin states in the east. In 1154 his son, Nureddin, occupied Damascus, the last barrier between Zangid territory and Jerusalem. In 1171 Saladin, the great hero of Islam, put an end to the Fatimid dynasty of Egypt and, upon the death of his suzerain Nureddin, he accomplished the unification of Egypt and Syria. These developments, and particularly the Latin army's crushing defeat at the hands of Saladin at Hittin, near Tiberias, in July 1187, signaled the end of the hegemony of the Frankish states in the Levant.

Jerusalem capitulated to Saladin on October 2, 1187. Unlike the Franks, who celebrated their entry into the Holy City a century earlier (1099) with a frightful massacre of the Muslims, the Ayyubid conqueror allowed the Christians to leave the city upon

payment of a poll tax. He later not only reduced the amount of the ransom but allowed them to depart even though they could not pay the necessary amount.⁶⁴ Unlike the Latins, the Armenian population of the city, comprising some five hundred monks and one thousand families, were neither expelled nor taken as slaves by the lieutenants of the sultan.⁶⁵ On the contrary, Saladin granted the Armenian patriarch a charter guaranteeing the community's security, its freedom of worship, and the integrity of its possessions and prerogatives in the Holy Places.

By 1189 only Tyre, Tripoli, Antioch, and some smaller towns and fortresses remained in Frankish hands. By the terms of a peace concluded in 1191 between Richard the Lion-Hearted and Saladin, however, the Levantine coast reverted to the Latins, and the safety of the Crusaders' pilgrimage to the Holy Land was guaranteed. Moreover, subsequent to Saladin's death in 1193, the dynastic rivalries among his Ayyubid successors and the dismemberment of his domain resulted in the Latins' recovery of Beirut, Safad, Tiberias, and even Jerusalem (1229-1244). Nevertheless, the Latins were no longer strong enough to take advantage of the Muslims' dissensions. They too suffered from internal rivalries and just as Muslims secured Christian aid against other Muslims so also rival Latin leaders secured Muslim aid against each other.

In the first half of the thirteenth century the Mongols swept through Armenia⁶⁶ and far into Anatolia. Hence, with a view to protecting the integrity of Cilicia, King Het'um I concluded military alliances with the Mongol Göyük Khan in 1247 and also with his successor Mangu Khan in 1253.⁶⁷ Not only did the Armenians cooperate with the Mongols in the economic blockade of Egypt by withholding exports of Cilician timber,⁶⁸ but Armenian contingents fought side by side with the Mongols in Anatolia as well as in Syria. The arrival of the Mongols in Syria had coincided with the disintegration of the Ayyubids and the rise of the Mamelukes in Egypt. The Mamelukes' avowed policy of liquidating once and for all the Frankish rule in the Levant and their determination to arrest the Mongol advance in Syria had serious repercussions on the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia. For Cilicia's identification with the hated Franks and its alliance with the Mongols had provoked the wrath of the Mamelukes.

In the 1250's Het'um I and his Armenian contingents joined

forces with Hulagu in the occupation of Aleppo, Hama, Homs, Heliopolis, Damascus, and other Syrian cities.⁶⁹ They had also planned the conquest of Jerusalem, but the news of Mangu Khan's death compelled Hulagu to interrupt his successful campaign. In consequence, the Armeno-Mongol troops left behind in Syria suffered defeat near Nablus, in Palestine, at the hands of the Mamelukes in 1260.⁷⁰ Thus, the Mameluke Sultan Baybars (1260–1277) not only checked the Mongols' first advance into Palestine and reunited Egypt and Syria, he also recaptured from the Latins a number of towns, including Jaffa, Safad, and Antioch. The weakening of the Mongol power in Syria made the Cilician kingdom one of the principal targets of Mameluke attacks. In 1266 they invaded Cilicia, slaughtering the inhabitants or carrying them off as captives into Egypt.

The Mongols' preoccupation with internecine conflicts prevented them from coming to the aid of the Armenians; hence, Het'um was forced to surrender to Baybars a number of his fortresses in the Amanus and along the Syrian border. Het'um's son and successor, Leon III, made repeated pleas for help to the European powers, but to no avail. In 1274/5 Baybars launched another expedition into Cilicia and also carried out raids into the Taurus. Especially hard hit was Tarsus, then capital of Cilicia, some ten thousand of whose inhabitants were carried off into Egypt. Simultaneously the Seljuks of Konya entered Cilicia from the west and continued to raid the border lands year after year. The Cilician situation was further complicated by dissension and revolts among the Armenians themselves. In 1292 Sultan al-Ashraf marched on Hromklay, the seat of the Armenian pontificate, looted the churches, and carried many into captivity. Six years later the Mamelukes seized eleven more fortresses in Cilicia, and also imposed a large tribute.

When the Mongols renewed their Syrian expedition they, together with Het'um, scored temporary victories at Homs and Damascus in 1299; but another invasion in 1303 ended in the decisive defeat of the Mongols near Damascus. In the meantime, Tripoli (1289), Acre (1291), and Arwad (1302) having fallen into Mameluke hands, Latin rule in the Levant had already come to an end.

With the Islamization of the Mongols in about 1300 and the break-up of their empire subsequent to the death of Ghazan

Khan, the Cilician kingdom was surrounded by a sea of Muslim adversaries, the Seljuks, Mongols, and Mamelukes, all of whom raided and pillaged its lands. The Mameluke invasions, in particular, became more and more frequent, and not only were numerous captives carried off and the country plundered, but gradually territories of the kingdom came under Egyptian control.

The pro-Latin orientation of the kingdom's ruling class accentuated the country's plight. Subsequent to the consolidation of the Latin principalities, intermarriage between the Armenian and Frankish nobility had become more and more frequent. Nevertheless, until 1342 the Cilician kingdom had been ruled by the Reubenian and Het'umian dynasties, which were of Armenian origin.⁷¹ Leon IV, the last of the Het'umian kings, having no male heir, named as successor his nearest kinsman, Guy de Lusignan, nephew of Henry II of Cyprus, both of whom were related by marriage to the Armenian ruling family. The crown of Cilicia thus passed from the Armenian princes to a French noble family, and the Armenian kingdom became a country under Latin government.⁷²

Under the last Het'umian kings the Cilician state had been compelled to seek the military assistance of the papacy and the European powers against the Mameluke menace, and these Cilician rulers had exerted every manner of pressure on the Armenian ecclesiastical hierarchy to make concessions to the Roman church, which was Rome's price for any assistance. To ensure the integrity of their kingdom, this policy became with increasing intensity that of the Lusignan rulers as well. This trend alienated a considerable segment of the Armenian nobility, the traditionalist clergy of the national church, and the Armenian populace at large, all of whom had viewed with disfavor the establishment of a foreign dynasty in their country. More significantly, even though the expected aid failed to arrive, the kingdom's growing association and identification with European interests served to intensify the Mamelukes' determination to exterminate this last Christian state. With the fall of the capital of Sis and the capture of Leon V in the final expedition of 1375, the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia became incorporated into the Mameluke empire.⁷³

It is evident from the above outline that, despite the heavy odds, the Armenian Cilician state maintained its existence for

some three centuries. The kingdom distinguished itself in cultural achievements. Histories and chronicles, literary works, and theological and other writings were produced in this period, and numerous Greek, Syriac, and Latin and some Arabic texts were translated into Armenian.⁷⁴ The minor arts attained a degree of excellence, notably miniature painting, which compares favorably with the best products of medieval art.⁷⁵ These literary and artistic creations were accomplished in the numerous monastic institutions – for the most part founded and endowed by the Armenian rulers – which dotted Cilicia and the countries adjacent to it.

The Cilician kingdom also attained an important position in the international affairs of the east. Situated as it was between the Byzantine empire, the Muslim dominions, and the Latin principalities, Cilicia emerged as an important center of international trade. In addition to local products, goods brought there from Central Asia were exported or exchanged for the wares of European traders, particularly the Genoese and Venetians, who were granted special privileges in Cilicia.⁷⁶ The country abounded in ports and anchorages, notably at Ayas and Corycus, and many of the inland cities were connected with the Mediterranean Sea by navigable rivers.⁷⁷ In 1271 the Venetian merchants were granted new privileges;⁷⁸ and the port of Ayas, which had been destroyed by the Mamelukes in 1266, was rebuilt and again became an active commercial center. Ayas' significance as one of the chief outlets to the Mediterranean for Central Asian goods was considerably enhanced after the Mamelukes captured the Syrian and Palestinian seaports in the thirteenth century.

No less significant was the Armenian role in the economy of the Levant under Latin rule, both on the local and international levels. The accounts of contemporary travelers, pilgrims, and geographers⁷⁹ indicate that the Crusaders' hegemony in this area stimulated maritime activity and international trade to a degree which had not been attained since Roman times. Subsequent to the dissolution of the kingdoms and principalities in Armenia proper in the eleventh century, Armenian traders had established important commercial contacts with the Levantine maritime centers as well.⁸⁰ These merchants engaged in a vast international trade; their caravans brought manufactured goods, such as silk, dyes, and spices, from interior Asia to the Latin principalities.⁸¹ This merchandise was not only sold locally but also traded with

European firms through their representatives in the Latin commercial centers. The local Armenians, who constituted an appreciable segment of the Levantine populations, also distinguished themselves as artisans and craftsmen. In the first half of the thirteenth century the cosmopolitan town of Tripoli had a considerable number of Armenians who were active in this seaport's economic life, especially in the silk manufacturing industry.⁸² It can be conjectured that the same was true in the other Latin-dominated towns — such as Acre, Tyre, Sidon, and Beirut — whose manufactured goods found markets in Europe.

The origin of the Armenian colonization of Aleppo cannot be easily determined because of the absence of documentary evidence. Nevertheless, it can safely be assumed that Armenian associations with this important commercial city date back to the earliest Christian centuries. Aleppo was undoubtedly a transit station for Armenian pilgrims to the Holy Land. It can be surmised that subsequent to the establishment of the Cilician state Armenians who inhabited the region of Antioch spread into Aleppo as well. With the growth of commercial contacts between the Cilician kingdom and Syrian mercantile centers, more and more Armenians were attracted to the city of Aleppo.⁸³

The earliest indication of an organized community at Aleppo is found in a colophon of an Armenian Gospel copied in that city in 1329.⁸⁴ Another group of Armenians emigrated there in 1355.⁸⁵ The emigration to Aleppo was perhaps on account of the Mamelukes' imminent occupation of the whole of Cilicia, and also of Aleppo's unique commercial advantages and its relative safety as a Christian center. Subsequent to the fall of Sis, the Mamelukes carried off some 40,000 Armenian captives, a number of whom settled at Aleppo.⁸⁶

In the main, the Christian communities — the Greek Orthodox, Maronites, and Syrians — were concentrated in the Salibiya and Jidayda quarters, outside the "inner city" of Aleppo; the Armenian colonists chose the same quarters. Before the end of the fourteenth century the Armenian community had developed to an extent that warranted the erection of two churches, St. Mary and St. K'arhasnits', adjacent to those of the other Christian communities. The Armenian church in Aleppo soon acquired the status of a separate bishopric which, as attested by the extant manuscripts copied in that city, progressed sufficiently to estab-

lish a regular scriptorium to meet a growing demand for religious and liturgical books.⁸⁷ As the Armenian community's ecclesiastical life advanced, Aleppo attracted an increasing number of transient ecclesiastics who traveled between Armenia or Cilicia and the Holy Land.⁸⁸ Finally, with the founding of the regional catholicosate of Cilicia at Sis in 1446, and the growing prosperity of the Aleppine colony, the bishopric of Aleppo was destined to occupy a position within the see second in importance only to that of the catholicosal seat itself.

The Mamelukes' occupation of Palestine and Syria, and their periodic invasions of Cilicia in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, had the most adverse effects upon the large Armenian settlements in Syria as well as those in the Cilician kingdom. In Cilicia the Mamelukes destroyed numerous towns, fortresses, and villages, as well as a large number of religious establishments and cultural centers. They decimated the Armenian population in Cilicia and northern Syria, carrying off countless captives and slaves to their territories in Syria, Palestine, and Egypt. Thousands of Cilician Armenians, unable to withstand the Mameluke tyranny and cruel exploitation, migrated to Cyprus⁸⁹ as well as to various European countries where they founded new colonies.

In Syria itself, the prominent position which the Armenians occupied under the Latins was dealt a severe blow under the Mamelukes. Despite the absence of documentary evidence, it may be assumed that many of the captives and slaves from Cilicia and northern Syria were gradually assimilated with the Muslim populations in the Mameluke dominion to escape the anti-Christian discriminatory restrictions and burdensome taxation. It is not unlikely that a substantial segment of the Armenians inhabiting the Levantine coast took refuge in the Lebanese mountains and eventually were assimilated with the Maronite community. It seems equally probable that others joined with the Latins who returned to Europe, particularly to the Italian cities. And, finally, the drought, famine, pestilence, and earthquakes that punctuated almost the entire Mameluke era and reduced the population of Syria and Egypt to about one third of its former size⁹⁰ must have taken a heavy toll of the Armenian communities in the Levant. In consequence, the once prosperous and multitudinous Armenian population was appreciably diminished. Whereas under the Latins members of this ethnic group were found almost

everywhere from the Taurus Mountains to Egypt, under the Mamelukes they were represented by small enclaves in Cilicia, the Amanus, Jabal Musa, Jabal 'Aqra, the valley of the Orontes, Antioch and its environs, Aleppo, Latakia, Damascus, Mount Lebanon, and in the Palestinian towns of Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Jaffa, Ramle, Gaza, and so forth. This state of affairs continued until the Ottoman conquest of historic Syria in the beginning of the sixteenth century.

The history of the Armenian church⁹¹ begins with the apostles Thaddeus and Bartholomew, traditionally acknowledged as her founders. This is the basis of the Armenian claim to her apostolic origin and her autocephalic character. Armenia is generally acknowledged as the first state to proclaim Christianity as the official religion; this she did in 301,⁹² that is, some twenty years before Christianity became the state religion of the Roman empire. In 302 Leontius of Caesarea in Cappadocia consecrated St. Gregory the Illuminator, who converted King Tiridates III,⁹³ as head of the Armenian church. In later times this gave rise to a controversy as to the hierarchic relation between the sees of Armenia and of Caesarea. The Greeks argued that the Armenian see was a suffragan of Caesarea and therefore in the hierarchic dependency of the Greek church; the Latins contended that the Armenian hierarchy, while originally connected with that of Caesarea, was subsequently instituted as an autocephalic see through the license of Pope Sylvester I (314–335) – a claim which rested on an apocryphal document, the T'ught' Dashants', fabricated by certain Latinophile Armenians at the time of the Crusades.⁹⁴ These arguments notwithstanding, the Armenian church has consistently asserted her apostolic origin and hierarchic independence from both the Greek and Roman churches.

Representatives of the Armenian church participated in the first Ecumenical Council of Nicaea (325) and accepted the creed formulated by it. Although the church had no representatives at the Councils of Constantinople (381) and Ephesus (431), she fully accepted the dogmatic decisions of these conclaves as well. Moreover, subsequent to the adoption of the Armenian alphabet and the composition of liturgical books in the first half of the fifth century, the liturgy of St. Basil was chosen as a model. These harmonious relations between the Armenian and Byzantine

churches were disrupted in the beginning of the fifth century when the newly elected Armenian catholicos was consecrated not by the archbishop of Caesarea but by the bishops of Armenia, a fact which was viewed by the Greeks as being tantamount to a schism.

Thus far the controversy was one of jurisdictional authority. The Armenian position regarding the decisions of the Council of Chalcedon (451) resulted in a doctrinal schism. The Council had adopted a confession of faith which, though reiterating the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed, also declared Christ, "Son, Lord, Only-Begotten, known in two natures, without confusion, without conversion, without severance and without division." When the council's decisions had been ratified by royal edict, those who held that there was only one nature in Christ, the Eutychian monophysites, were banished from the empire, and their writings were burned. The ensuing controversy raged unabated for thirty years and produced a serious schism in the eastern church. The emperors sought to settle the dispute by appeasing the opponents of Chalcedon. Among these efforts, special mention must be made of the *Henotikon* issued by Emperor Zeno in 482, which declared the true manhood and the true godhead of Christ. It also anathematized the Nestorians and Eutychians — the proponents of the extreme views in the Christological dispute — and all those who held views contrary to the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed. However, neither this nor subsequent conciliatory measures succeeded in resolving the controversy.

Hitherto the Armenian church had remained aloof from the Christological controversies which raged in the Christian world. However, at a synod of the Armenian, Georgian, and Caspio-Albanian bishops held at Dwin in 506, presided over by the Armenian Catholicos Babgēn, the acts of the Council of Chalcedon were rejected as bearing the taint of Nestorianism; Nestorius, Arius, Eutyches, and other heretics were anathematized; and the profession of faith declared by the Council of Ephesus was officially reaffirmed. In consequence of this, as well as the reaffirmation of the same position at the Armenian synods of Dwin in 554, 608, and 648, the Armenians have been considered as monophysites both by the Greek Orthodox and the Roman Catholic churches.

In contrast to the Greek Orthodox and the Roman Catholic

churches, which respectively recognize seven and more than a score of ecumenical councils, the Armenian church accepts as valid only the first three (which are also recognized by the other two churches). The Armenian position rests on the principle that the chief basis of the authority of the ecumenical councils lay in the unanimity of the various churches; in the oneness of mind as to the way in which dogmas should be understood; and in the marked absence of controversy over questions of hierarchic precedence or authority. Since this unanimity was shattered after the third council, the Armenian church has always looked upon the Council of Ephesus as the last truly ecumenical conclave. She has also consistently maintained that the true function of these councils was the affirmation, not the explanation, of dogma. Only the first three complied with this rule.

Like the Greeks, the Armenians affirm the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone; but, unlike the Greeks and the Latins, they not only hold the doctrine of one nature in Christ, but also recite the Trisagion with the addition "Holy God, holy and mighty, holy and immortal, *who wast crucified for us*, have mercy upon us." Insofar as monophysitism is concerned, a noted authority points out that the Armenians

are Monophysites, if the term "one nature" is to be understood as it was used by St. Cyril [of Alexandria]; but they are not Monophysites if a Eutychian interpretation is attached to it. The Armenian formula "one nature united" is based on that of St. Cyril. The Armenian church recognized the divine and the human natures in Christ, a complete humanity animated by a rational soul. She violently rejected the mingling or confusion of the natures, taught by Eutyches, and anathematized Eutyches together with the heretics Arius, Macedonius, and Nestorius. The Armenians maintained, however, that to speak of two natures after the union, as did the Chalcedonians, was to revert to the Nestorian heresy.⁹⁵

In summary the differences that divided the Armenian and Greek churches were (and still are) fundamentally those that apply to the Armenian rejection of Chalcedon and nonrecognition of the succeeding councils.⁹⁶ The differences that separate the Armenian and Catholic churches center chiefly about the Armenian rejection of the Latins' dogmas of the addition of the *Filioque*, the particular judgment, the pains of purgatory, the im-

mediate beatific vision, transubstantiation, indulgences, and papal infallibility.

Reference has already been made to the Byzantines' persecution of the Armenians in an attempt to force conformance to the doctrines of the Greek Orthodox church. On the other hand, they also sought to achieve the same end by persuasion. Among such peaceful attempts was the accord reached between Emperor Heraclius and Catholicos Ezr at Erzurum in 633, whereby the decisions of the Council of Dwin were canceled, the words "who wast crucified for us" were eliminated from the Trisagion, and the Armenians agreed to celebrate Christmas on December 25.⁹⁷ The circumstances relating to the consummation of this agreement are still somewhat obscure, but it is certain that it was reversed by the Armenian church council held at Dwin in 648.⁹⁸ A second abortive attempt to effect a union of the Armenian and Greek churches was made by Patriarch Photius (858–867, 878–886) of Constantinople. The negotiations dealt with the basic Christological issues which separated the two churches; since there was no common ground of understanding they ended in failure.⁹⁹ The last important negotiations began in 1165, at the instigation of the Armenians; once again union of the two churches was not accomplished.¹⁰⁰

The associations of the Armenians with the Roman papacy began in the twelfth century, as a direct result of the friendly relations between the Crusaders and the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia. The Latins found a natural ally in the Armenians, both against the Byzantines and against the Muslims, particularly so long as the Franks evidenced a spirit of religious toleration toward the Armenian church. These friendly relations were at times exacerbated, however, chiefly on account of political, military, and economic rivalries, and by the growing determination of the papacy to Latinize the Armenian church.

As early as the first half of the twelfth century the church of Rome sought to bring the Armenians into communion with her. Both Pope Honorius II (1124–1130) and Pope Innocent II (1130–1143) urged the Armenian catholicoses to celebrate Christmas and Epiphany with the Catholic church, and to mix water with the eucharistic wine. Catholicos Grigor III Pahlawuni attended the Latin councils at Antioch and Jerusalem in 1141 and 1142, respectively. At the council of 1142 he was given a place of honor

and was requested to describe the doctrines, canons, and rituals of the Armenian church. It appears that the papal legate, Albericus, urged Grigor to sanction his church's union with Rome; whether the Catholicos agreed to make changes in the dogmas and practices of his institution to conform to those of the Roman church, as asserted by William of Tyre and more recent scholars, is still a matter of debate.¹⁰¹ In any event, though the discussion was not carried on any further, Pope Lucius II (1144–1145) was encouraged enough by the prospect of union to send the catholicos certain ecclesiastical gifts.¹⁰² In return the Armenian leader sent a delegation to Pope Eugenius III (1145–1153) at Viterbo; the purpose of the mission and the outcome of the meeting, however, are still shrouded in mystery.¹⁰³ Shortly thereafter, when a dispute broke out on the doctrinal and ritualistic differences between the two churches, the pope called upon the catholicos to accept the Roman dogmas and practices. This brought an end to the negotiations.¹⁰⁴

When subsequent to the death of Emperor Manuel in 1180 Armeno-Byzantine negotiations for union broke down and the Byzantines renewed persecution of the Armenians, Catholicos Grigor IV Tghay (1173–1193) sought the papacy's protection. Bishop Grigor of Philippopolis, the representative of the catholicos, met with Pope Lucius III at Verona in 1184. The pope declared that the Roman church would henceforth assume the protection of the Armenians, and requested from the Armenian church conformance to a number of Latin ritualistic practices.¹⁰⁵ In consequence, the move toward union of the two churches was again revived; and under this catholicos, and especially under Grigor VI Apirat (1194–1203), some Latin ritualistic usages gained currency in the Armenian church.

In 1196 Prince Leon of the Armenian barony of Cilicia, eager to enhance his political position through European protection, sent embassies to Pope Celestine III and the Holy Roman Emperor Henry VI to press his claims for a royal crown. Although the imperial chancellor, Conrad of Hildesheim, arrived with a crown, Leon's coronation was delayed, because whereas the emperor merely demanded to be recognized as Leon's suzerain, the pope demanded submission of the Armenian church to Rome. The Armenian bishops convened by Leon at first refused the papal demands; but it appears that they subsequently agreed to them

after the prince assured them that he would submit merely in word and not in deed. The fact that in the correspondence exchanged between Pope Innocent III and his successors and the Armenians there is no direct reference to any controversial points of dogma separating the two churches substantiates the view that the initial dogmatic demands were later abandoned, and that what the Armenian bishops agreed to deal only with disciplinary regulations.¹⁰⁶ By virtue of this agreement, on January 6, 1198, Leon II was crowned at Tarsus.

By its conferral of the crown the papacy established a sort of protectorate over Cilicia, which it was long to exploit in the interest of its religious and political designs. Not only Leon but also the catholicos were lavish in their expressions of respect and submission to the papacy, but it would be erroneous to interpret these too literally.¹⁰⁷ It is true that some minor new usages were introduced into the Armenian liturgical practices, but there were no basic changes in dogma. Neither Leon nor the catholicos seem to have set any value on the terms of the agreement of union. Indeed Leon even drove the Latin monks out of Cilicia.¹⁰⁸

The long reigns of King Het'um I (1226-1270) and Catholicos Kostandin I (1221-1267) ushered in a more favorable climate for the extension of Latin influence in Cilicia. During this period Latin colonies multiplied in Cilicia, and many Armenian colonists settled in Italy. In 1248 the papacy once again formally proposed the union of the Armenian church with Rome.¹⁰⁹ The synod convened in 1251 eventually acceded to the Latin view of the double procession of the Holy Spirit, a decision promptly rejected by the bishops of Armenia Major.¹¹⁰ Although the catholicos and the king promoted a closer tie between the Latins and the Armenians, they did not compromise the basic doctrinal position and independence of their church.

Subsequent to the collapse of the Latin principalities, the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia, which had become the target of the Mamelukes' periodic invasions, still continued to rely on the papacy for help; but the Roman see would not pledge any military assistance unless the Armenians were converted to the Catholic faith. The Armenian royal family had through intermarriage become increasingly Latinized by this time. In spite of all this, Catholicoses Hakob I (1268-1286) and Kostandin II (1286-1289) succeeded in protecting the integrity and independence

of their church from the Latins, whose numbers in Cilicia had now considerably increased.

Under King Het'um II (1289-1297), however, Cilician policy toward the papacy underwent a significant change. Upon acceding to the throne, the king, who had become a Franciscan monk, immediately dispatched a Latin monk, Giovanni da Montecorvino, to Pope Nicholas IV to assure him of his loyalty to the papacy and the Catholic faith. The pope commended this overture and exhorted the king to prevail upon the Armenian hierarchy to adhere to the Roman doctrine.¹¹¹ This communication, and similar letters to other members of the Cilician royalty and officialdom, served only to evoke serious controversies, notably in the monastic institutions. Het'um prevailed on the synod to depose and imprison the incumbent catholicos, who had vigorously resisted his policy.¹¹² In 1292 Het'um even issued a royal edict enjoining the Armenians of Cilicia to celebrate Easter with the Latins, and did not hesitate to punish severely all the recalcitrants.¹¹³

In 1293 Het'um II and the Latinophile faction succeeded in raising Grigor VII, a zealous partisan of their views, to the catholicosial office. Grigor died before the convening of the synod, however, and it devolved upon his successor, Kostandin III (1307-1322), to carry through the official policy of Latinization. The synod of 1307 had before it an outline, forming the basis of union with Rome, which was submitted by the palace itself; the attending bishops had no recourse but to affix their signatures to the document. Among the more important resolutions adopted were the decisions to dilute the eucharistic wine, to observe Christmas and Epiphany separately, and to endorse the two natures and wills of Christ.¹¹⁴ That these measures ran counter to the popular sentiment is evidenced by the uprisings at Adana and Sis, which were suppressed by military force. Many recalcitrant ecclesiastics were summarily put to death, while others were imprisoned or banished to Cyprus.¹¹⁵

In 1317, at the behest of Pope John XXII, the synod was convened at Adana to reaffirm the decisions of the previous synod. These decisions had been rejected not only by the bishops of Armenia proper but by the vast majority of the clergy and the populace in Cilicia itself. Nevertheless, the handful of Latinophiles who attended the conclave reaffirmed the resolutions of 1307 and also proclaimed that henceforth the dissidents would

be condemned and cast out from the "Catholic and Apostolic Holy Church of Rome."¹¹⁶

Notwithstanding these concessions, Pope Benedict XII, who had received the so-called "Libellus" containing 117 accusations brought against the Armenians,¹¹⁷ asked Catholicos Hakobos II in 1341 to answer the charges. Both the political and religious authorities in Cilicia failed in their efforts to reassure the papacy regarding the orthodoxy of the Armenian church. Even the declarations of the synod of Sis (1345) did not satisfy the next Pope, Clement VI, who demanded from the Armenian hierarchy a new profession of Latin faith.

In 1342 the Latinophile Armenian monarchs of Cilicia were succeeded by the Latin kings of the French Lusignan dynasty. The first of these, Guy de Lusignan, began his reign by issuing a royal edict enjoining his subjects to adhere forthwith to the Catholic faith. So drastic was this arbitrary measure that in 1344 the army and the populace revolted at Adana, and the king as well as some 300 of his Latin retainers were assassinated.¹¹⁸ Yet, always relying on European and papal assistance, the alien monarchs of Cilicia still persisted in their Latinization policy, and never hesitated to counter the opposition of the clerical and popular elements by resorting to coercive means. In order to secure the Armenian hierarchy's compliance, these Lusignan monarchs also replaced nonconformist catholicoses with ecclesiastics who were all too willing to introduce Latin doctrines and practices.

In consequence of these developments the Armenian church in Cilicia acquired a character peculiar to the region. While the Cilician church officially adopted certain characteristic features of the Latin church she did not become fundamentally Latinized,¹¹⁹ nor did she definitively declare herself in full communion with Rome. The concessions which she was forced to make to the papacy were essentially dictated by the ruling class, which never abandoned its hopes for European aid against the Muslims.

Coincidental with the Latinizing tendencies in Cilicia, determined attempts at converting the Armenians to Catholicism were also made in Armenia proper. This was an outgrowth of the intense missionary activities of the Dominican and Franciscan orders in the east which began in the thirteenth century and assumed large-scale proportions under Pope John XXII (1316-1334).

Despite the bitter opposition of the leading theologians and clergy in Armenia to the pro-Latin decisions of the Cilician synods, a number of monks in the homeland had already come under the influence of Catholic propaganda. With the active cooperation of the Dominican Bishop Bartholomew of Maragha, in Azerbaijan, twelve Armenian monks led by Hovhan K'rhnets'i professed the Latin faith in 1330. These twelve formed the nucleus of the *Fratres Unitores* order in the monastery of K'rhnay, in Nakhijewan, which until about the middle of the fourteenth century served as the intellectual, administrative, and missionary center of the congregation.¹²⁰ After its approval by Pope John XXII as a *bona fide* Catholic order, the institution soon came under the jurisdiction of the Dominican *Frères Prêcheurs*. By 1356 the *Unitores* had some fifty monasteries throughout Armenia with an aggregate of seven hundred monks, as well as several thousands of lay converts. In contrast to their former subtle approach, the *Unitores'* intense missionary propaganda underwent a radical change in method marked by a spirit of zealous fanaticism. Laboring in close conjunction with the Dominican missionaries, they not only accused the adherents of the national church as schismatics and heretics, but also, questioning the validity of the Armenian sacraments, rebaptized the lay adherents to the Catholic religion and reordained the clergy who defected to their faith.

To be sure, the successes of the *Unitores'* propaganda stirred up strenuous opposition. Under the effective counterattacks of such learned and staunch advocates of the national church as Mkhit'ar Sasnets'i, Maghak'ia Ghrimets'i, and especially Hovhannēs Orotnets'i (1313-1386) and Grigor Tat'ewats'i (1340-1411), the *Unitor* movement gradually began to disintegrate. In consequence of the black pestilence of the 1350's, the number of the *Unitor* monasteries in Armenia had already been considerably reduced. Many of the surviving monks settled in the Crimea, where the monastery of St. Nicholas at Kafa (Theodosia) replaced K'rhnay as their administrative center. Subsequent to the Genoese loss of their Crimean colony in 1475, the *Unitor* congregation returned to Armenia. In 1583 the drastically diminished number of *Unitor* monks and their equally limited monastic institutions were fully integrated with the Dominican *Frères Prêcheurs*. Although they continued their limited missionary activities in Armenia until about the middle of the eighteenth

century, the Unitor movement had lost its momentum as early as the end of the fourteenth century.

From the very beginnings of Armenian Christianity, the church has had a national character; the nation and the ecclesiastical institution have been very closely identified. As a national church, the institution has played an eminent role in the life of the people; through all the vicissitudes of Armenian history, she has remained the only institution of permanence. The church accompanied the people wherever they went in their dispersion, and proved, together with the Armenian language and literature, the most important bond of national and cultural unity.

Until the twelfth century the Armenian church was governed by a single hierarchy, the Catholicosate of All Armenians. Under the force of political circumstance, the Armenian see was set up wherever the political authority of the Armenian people happened to be at the time. Until 485 the hierarchical seat remained at its original site of Etchmiadzin; in that year it was removed to Dwin, the new capital of Armenia, where it remained until 901. From then onwards the seat peregrinated from one place to another until 1147 when it established itself at Hromklay, near Cilicia. Following the capture of Hromklay by the Mamelukes in 1292 it was transferred to Sis. Finally, in 1441 it reverted to the original seat at Etchmiadzin, where it has remained to date.¹²¹

The trend toward the creation of other hierarchical sees commenced in the twelfth century. During the many wanderings of the supreme pontificate the seat had for a while been established on the island of Aght'amar in Lake Van. Following its transfer to Argina, near Ani, the archbishops of Aght'amar had already begun to lay claim to exceptional hierarchical powers. In 1113 the incumbent Archbishop Dawit' Tonrikian took advantage of the succession to the catholicosal office of the youthful Grigor III Pahlawuni to have himself proclaimed catholicos. Although the synod of the Armenian church condemned Dawit' and his unlawful hierarchy, the catholicosal see of Aght'amar retained its existence until World War I.¹²²

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries three other sees with local jurisdictions were created, namely, the patriarchate of Jerusalem (1311), the catholicosate of Cilicia at Sis (1446), and the patriarchate of Constantinople (1461). Despite this multiplicity of sees, the Supreme Patriarch and Catholicos of All Armenians

remained, wherever his seat may have happened to be, the canonical head of the Armenian church. Like the incumbent of this see, those of Aght'amar and Cilicia bore the title of catholicos and exercised the prerogative of ordaining bishops and consecrating the *miurhon* (holy chrism), but their jurisdictions applied only to the bishoprics under their direct control. Under the Ottomans, the see of Aght'amar consisted of three bishoprics in the vilayets (provinces) of Van and Bitlis, and the Cilician see of some thirteen bishoprics in Cilicia and Syria comprising the vilayets of Adana and Aleppo. The patriarchs of Constantinople and Jerusalem, who were not endowed with the prerogatives stated above, exercised jurisdiction over forty-five and five bishoprics, respectively, in the Ottoman empire.

Under Ottoman rule, the ecclesiastical and secular communities in Syria and Palestine constituted an integral part of the empire's Armenian millet, whose de jure and de facto representative before the Sublime Porte was the patriarch of Constantinople. It is against the background of the historical evolution of the Ottoman-Armenian millet at large that the Armenian communities and institutions of Syria must be studied.

CHAPTER II

The Armenian Millet under Ottoman Dominion

WITH THE OCCUPATION of Constantinople in 1453 by Mehmet II, the Conqueror, the Ottomans fell heir to the Byzantine empire. The Ottomans had already conquered western Armenia in the last decade of the fourteenth century, under Bayezid I, and parts of eastern Armenia in the fifteenth century under Mehmet II. After the defeat of the Persians at Chaldiran, north of Lake Urmia, in 1514, a larger section of eastern Armenia and a portion of Mesopotamia fell to the Ottomans. In 1516 Sultan Selim I's complete victory over the Mamelukes at the plain of Marj Dabiq, north of Aleppo, decided the fate of all Syria, Palestine, and Egypt.

The scope of this study does not permit a detailed discussion of the Ottoman concept and system of administration, nor of the Ottoman theory that governed the status of the conquered peoples, especially the minorities. Suffice it to say that the Ottoman state was dynastic in character and military in organization. Throughout its history it was the interest of the state, as personified by the sultan-caliph and his government agents, that was paramount. Within this framework the subject peoples, especially the non-Muslims, were reduced to the status of *rayas* (protected flocks) and were exploited by the sultan and his government and officials. So long as these peoples behaved properly and gave no trouble, they were accorded official protection and the freedom to follow their own traditional laws, customs, and way of life. They were, however, barred from military and civil service, which was the exclusive domain of the Turks and the converts — the

thoroughly Islamized and Turkified former war prisoners, slaves, and Christian children.

THE JURIDICAL STATUS OF THE MILLET

Under the Ottomans the centuries-old division of Near Eastern society into religious rather than national and racial units became a highly institutionalized phenomenon both in theory and in practice. The individual religious communities, namely, the Greek Orthodox, Jews, and Armenians, were constituted into distinct entities known in Ottoman usage as millets. Each of these subject communities was allowed to retain its own laws concerning matters of civil status and to enforce them under the general jurisdiction of a *millet bashi* (community head) who was responsible to the sultan. Under this arrangement, the status of the non-Muslim individual derived exclusively from membership in a protected millet. The prevailing system, therefore, admitted in effect a duality of loyalty, one to the sultan and the other to the religious community to which the individual belonged.¹

Immediately after his conquest of Constantinople, Mehmet II vested the Greek Patriarch Gennadius II with ecclesiastical and civil authority over his coreligionists in the Ottoman dominions. As the Armenians had enjoyed the trust of the Turks since the days of Osman I, the semilegendary founder of the Ottoman dynasty, the sultan imported to his new capital a large number of this ethnic group from Asia Minor and the Crimea. It is generally believed that he also invited Bishop Hovakim, Armenian prelate of Bursa, to Constantinople in 1461 and conferred upon him the title of "patriarch," vesting him with the supreme ecclesiastical-civil magistracy of the Armenians living within the Ottoman domain. Thus the Armenian prelate was placed on the same footing as the patriarch of the Greek millet.² This was the origin of the Armenian patriarchate of Constantinople,³ a creation not of the Armenian church but of the Ottoman political authorities.

Under the Ottoman millet system the Christians were divided into two broad groups based not on race or nationality but on a profession of faith. Accordingly, all the Orthodox dyophysites or Chalcedonians of the empire were placed under the general authority of the Greek patriarch, though each still retained its reli-

gious head. The monophysites, on the other hand, comprising the Armenian, Syrian Jacobite, Coptic, and Abyssinian communities, while retaining their own autocephalic hierarchies, were made subject to the jurisdiction of the Armenian patriarchate.⁴

The Greek and Armenian millets, with their own ecclesiastico-civil leaders and internal administrations, had complete charge of their own affairs; they were, in effect, *imperia in imperio*. As head of his millet the Armenian patriarch, ranking with the higher Turkish pashas, received his investiture from the sultan. He was held responsible for the government and the good conduct of his people, over whom he exercised almost unlimited authority. His powers were as much political as ecclesiastical. Through him the government controlled the millet and collected the community's annual tribute; and through him the church, her officers, and coreligionists communicated with the government in case of injustice, to secure a privilege, or to obtain legal rights. The patriarch was personally responsible for, and enjoyed jurisdiction over, his community's spiritual administration and officials, public instruction, and charitable and religious institutions, and the civil status of his coreligionists. Until the promulgation of the Hatt-Sherif of Gülhané (1839) the patriarch and his ecclesiastical subordinates had the authority to inflict both ecclesiastical and civil penalties on his people; matters of litigation were brought before his court, whether such were civil or criminal; and he maintained a small police force and his own jail at the capital. He could imprison or exile clergy at will, and though the consent of the government was necessary to imprison or exile laymen, such firmans were generally easily obtained.

As religious and temporal leader of the entire Armenian community throughout the Ottoman dominions, the patriarch exercised absolute authority over the bishoprics of the Armenian church through the agency of subordinate bishops who were appointed by him. The sphere of his jurisdiction increased proportionately to the extension of the empire, so that gradually all the Armenian communities within its political boundaries came under his administrative authority. This included the bishoprics spiritually dependent upon the regional sees of the Armenian church, namely, the catholicosates of Sis and Aght'amar and the patriarchate of Jerusalem.⁵

From the day that the patriarchate and a strong Armenian

colony were established at Constantinople, that city gradually became the real center of Armenian ecclesiastical and national life. By the beginning of the nineteenth century the Armenians of Constantinople numbered upward of 150,000, the largest Armenian community in the world; and, moreover, a majority of the entire Armenian people dwelt in the sultan's dominions. By virtue of these facts the patriarch became not only the most important but in effect the most powerful dignitary among Armenians everywhere.

It was a fundamental law of the Ottoman empire that every Christian subject must be enrolled in one of the existing and recognized communities. Failure to acknowledge the authority of the patriarch was tantamount to civil rebellion punishable by appropriate penalties. To secede from one community in order to join one not recognized by the state was equivalent to renunciation or loss of all civil rights and privileges, and exposed the individual offender to the consequences of complete outlawry. The government looked upon every new sect as an unwelcome intruder. Hence, when an Armenian forsook his church, the patriarch had only to report him as insubordinate to bring him into line. This system of government, of course, became a source of much religious intolerance, especially as the Sublime Porte often lent the weight of its authority to maintain the integrity of the millet, or connived at the punitive measures of ecclesiastical dignitaries, who on occasion used their civil powers to eradicate heretics and other religious offenders. Gibb and Bowen point out that

The *millet* leaders were reluctant to lose adherents not only on grounds of belief, but for an economic reason. For though *cizya* was originally exacted only from the members of each community liable under the rules of the *Şer'ia* to its payment, the principle of such yearly assessment was later ignored, each community being called upon to furnish a fixed sum, regardless of any increase or diminution of its membership. If the members of a community were reduced by conversion, therefore, the burden falling upon those that remained faithful to it was aggravated.⁶

The Ottoman regulations, moreover, provided methods of control. A certificate from the patriarch was presented to the head of the police to procure a permit for marriage; the name of every child was communicated by the patriarch to the same officer for enrollment; permission for every funeral had to be obtained

through the patriarch from the board of health; and no person could travel in the country without a passport, which could be secured only with the patriarch's voucher for the individual's honesty. In the provinces these functions were performed by the diocesan bishops or other ecclesiastics in charge.

THE HISTORICAL EVOLUTION OF THE PATRIARCHATE OF CONSTANTINOPLE

The first phase of the patriarchate's historical development seems to have been marked by stability of administration, as evidenced by the fact that from 1461-1600 the patriarchal office was occupied by sixteen men with average terms of nine years. In contrast, between 1600 and 1715 there were fifty-four ecclesiastics in the office with an average term of little over two years, and several of the incumbents lost and recovered the office a number of times. The upheavals of the second period are attributable to factors both internal and external to the Armenian community. To begin with, the patriarchal office had become not only prestigious but also financially lucrative; hence, ambitious ecclesiastics vied with one another for control of the office. Moreover the triumph of one ecclesiastic over another often reflected the relative power of the secular forces behind them — wealthy and influential lay leaders, who felt their own vested interests might be furthered by the removal of an incumbent and his replacement by another. The prestige and influence of these magnates, in turn, generally depended upon, and fluctuated with, the political fortunes of their intimates among the Turkish officialdom. The situation was further aggravated by the avarice of the Turkish officials, who, taking advantage of rivalries, often in effect auctioned the office to the highest bidder. (Since bribery of these officials was the customary means of securing the office, the amount of the community's annual tribute to the sultan was frequently raised by the ambitious candidates and their lay supporters, thus seriously draining the resources of the millet.)

No less serious were the intrigues of clerics belonging to the newly emerging papal Armenian faction, whose ambitions were beginning to acquire menacing proportions. In the first half of the seventeenth century, several pro-Latin ecclesiastics did indeed manage to usurp the patriarchal office temporarily. So critical and bitter did the controversies become that on several occasions,

beginning in 1649, some lay vicars transacted the affairs of the office rather than risk the election of a corrupt patriarch. And, beginning in the 1670's, even some married priests usurped the patriarchal throne, in violation of the canonical traditions of the Armenian church.⁷

Hovhannēs Kolot's election as patriarch in 1715 ushered in a new era of stability to the patriarchal institution. His was an unusually long (1715-1741) and distinguished tenure of office. At the same time there was emerging a moneyed aristocracy which, acting as a more or less cohesive group, began to play an increasingly more important role in the administration and direction of the millet's religious and civic affairs. This oligarchical group, which after the middle of the century would commonly be termed *amiras*, consisted chiefly of the *sarrafs* (bankers) and of individuals who held positions of high responsibility in the government.

In the Ottoman administrative system the high-ranking officials of the Porte and the provincial governors derived their income not from a government salary but from legal taxes and extortions levied on the population of the territory over which they had jurisdiction. Each official was dependent on a banker, usually Armenian, who furnished him with capital on interest for securing an appointment and for the surety required by the central government for the proper transmission of revenues to the imperial treasury. By virtue of this the Armenian bankers wielded immense power in government affairs,⁸ and also exercised great influence in the management of the Armenian millet's ecclesiastical and civil administration. The power and prestige of the individual banker was directly proportional to those of the Ottoman official whom he financed; when the fortunes of the official fluctuated so did his own, in the government as well as in the millet.

The *amiras'* pre-eminence in Armenian affairs stemmed not from any official election or appointment but essentially from their immense wealth. It was they who met the expenses of the patriarchate and the ecclesiastical and national institutions, and this in turn earned them the right to dictate their will upon the millet. In actual fact, therefore, they were more powerful than the officially recognized patriarch himself, who more often than not was their appointee. As he was called to office and deposed

by the sultan on their recommendation, the patriarch could rarely take any step without their sanction. Even the bishops and vardapets were appointed to dioceses and churches through the amiras — thereby substantially compromising the legal authority of the *millet bashi*. Their absolute control of the patriarchate was also tacitly recognized by the millet at large, which accepted whatever these self-appointed community leaders determined. The oligarchy generally shared a community of interests and displayed group allegiance. The only factor that weakened their absolute authority was the occasional disagreements within their own ranks arising from personal rivalries and struggles for power. Indeed, frequently the few richest and most powerful among them, who had closest contact with the government, constituted the real power behind the millet's administration, the rest normally following their dictates.

The gradual democratization and establishment of constitutional government within the millet is traceable to the year 1764 when Grigor Pasmachian was elected to the patriarchal office. His selection was made by the amiras themselves; but they took the unprecedented step of inviting a national assembly — consisting of ecclesiastics, chiefs of the trade guilds, intellectuals, and the leaders of the common people of the capital, more than one thousand individuals in all — to ratify their choice.⁹ This public assemblage was occasionally resorted to in subsequent years, especially when grave matters affecting the community necessitated that decisions taken by the patriarch and amiras be formally approved by the populace. It would be erroneous to suggest, however, that this national assembly was a constitutionally elected and permanent deliberative body. Indeed, as late as 1815 Patriarch Pōghos Grigorian proposed, on the occasion of his appointment, that the selection of the patriarch should henceforth be taken out of the hands of a few individuals and be placed in the hands of a special assembly composed of magnates and representatives of the guilds,¹⁰ a proposal that suggests that a few members of the oligarchy were still handpicking the patriarch.

THE ARMENIAN NATIONAL CONSTITUTION

The real challenge to the absolute rule of the amiras began in the late 1830's. Though at first spearheaded by the high-ranking

Armenian functionaries of the Ottoman government, the anti-amira movement soon acquired a populist character, the middle-class petty merchants and artisans (*esnaf*), the intellectuals, and the common people joining forces not only to put an end to the oligarchy's authoritarian rule, but to replace it with a liberal, democratic, and constitutional form of government. The ensuing struggle lasted for some twenty years and ultimately resulted in the triumph of constitutionalism.

The populist movement received its first impulse from the promulgation by Sultan Abdul Mejid of the Hatti-Sherif of Gülhané (1839), which officially guaranteed to all Ottoman subjects, without distinction of race or religion, individual rights and equality before the law; prohibited bribery and court favoritism; provided for salaries for all government officials; and established a regular system of taxation. This promulgation encouraged the common people to contend for their rights without fear of reprisals. It also dealt a severe blow to the power of the bankers, for their financial transactions and surety were henceforth unnecessary.¹¹ In consequence some Armenian bankers incurred great financial losses, and their influence with the Porte and high-ranking Ottoman officials was considerably diminished; even those whose losses were relatively small suffered substantially in prestige. All of this, of course, helped the populist cause.

The objectives of the proponents of democratic rule were achieved by a gradual process, but not without bitter inter-community agitation. In March of 1840 Patriarch Hakobos established a committee of twenty-four artisans, and charged it with the responsibility of managing the community's financial administration in cooperation with six bankers. The bankers' refusal to sit in council with the artisans and the committee's own failure to raise an urgently needed sum of money compelled its resignation. Nevertheless the episode helped to draw the common people into the conflict against the amiras. In November 1841 the Porte, acceding to the artisans' refusal to be ruled by a few amiras, peremptorily ordered the bankers to arrive at some understanding with the artisans. In consequence, a popular council was elected to take charge of the community's administration; its permanency and freedom from oligarchic interference was guaranteed by edict; and, more importantly, both the patriarch and the amiras renounced all jurisdiction in matters pertaining to

the functions of the council. It soon became apparent, however, that the artisans lacked the competence and constitutional powers to make a popular administration effective. Within a year the council surrendered its authority to the amiras. But so aroused was public sentiment that the amiras could no longer reassume absolute control. In the year 1844, therefore, a compromise solution was arrived at by the appointment of thirty councilors, with the amiras and artisans in equal numbers, to share with the patriarch the administrative and executive functions of the millet.

In 1847 the oligarchy suffered a further defeat resulting from the Porte's confirmation of two distinct and popularly elected bodies: a religious council, composed of fourteen ecclesiastics, in charge of the spiritual administration; and a civil council, composed of twenty laymen drawn in equal numbers from the amiras and from the artisans, responsible for civil matters. The definition of the jurisdictions of these councils signaled the introduction of constitutional government.¹² In the 1850's the national administration established auxiliary councils whose task was to administer the educational, economic, and judicial affairs affecting the millet.¹³ This growing administrative machinery accentuated the need for defining the rights and obligations and the mutual relations of the various bodies; in short, the need was urgently felt for a comprehensive written constitution.

The decisive stimulus to the achievement of this end was provided by the Ottoman government itself. The Tanzimat (reform regulations) promulgated by the Hatti-Humayun of 1856, among other provisions, affirmed the principle of representative government for the subject communities of the empire.¹⁴ It provided that henceforth these millets should be placed under the safeguard of assemblies chosen from among their ecclesiastical and lay members. Accordingly, each millet was instructed to appoint a committee which, under the supervision of the Porte, would examine the privileges and prerogatives hitherto enjoyed by the community and submit to the Porte its recommendations for reforms.¹⁵ The Armenian community which had already embarked upon a constitutional form of government, was the first to take advantage of the decree to endow itself with a written constitution which vested the entire administrative power in a popularly elected representative body. Two drafts of the constitution, formulated in 1857 and 1859, were found to be too liberal by the

amiras and the conservative ecclesiastics,¹⁶ but in the end a compromise was worked out. On May 24, 1860, a constitutional assembly, composed of ecclesiastics and a large group of laymen representing all classes of Armenian society, approved the Armenian National Constitution.¹⁷

The principal architects of this instrument were young professional men trained for the most part in European, particularly French, institutions of higher learning, who had been imbued with the then current ideas of liberalism, democracy, and constitutionalism. These men — who upon their return to Constantinople acted as apostles of the new theories and ideals — were largely responsible for the furtherance of the movement for reform within the government of the Armenian church and millet as well as for the drafting and acceptance of the National Constitution.¹⁸

In the beginning of 1861 the overzealous and inexperienced civil council became involved in an extended and bitter jurisdictional dispute with the patriarchate of Jerusalem. In consequence of this controversy the instrument, which had been put into effect since its proclamation but which had not yet been ratified by the government, was suspended by the Porte. Only after protracted negotiations and repeated popular demonstrations did the Porte eventually confirm, by an imperial edict issued in March 1863, a revised version of the Armenian National Constitution, which thus became the law of the land. The text of this document¹⁹ differed from the earlier version in some details but not in essential substance.²⁰

Without a doubt, the Armenian National Constitution is a document of more than usual historical significance from the standpoint both of the development of the Ottoman millet system and of its truly great impact on the growth of the Armenian social institutions and communities throughout the Turkish dominions.²¹

The preamble, which set forth six fundamental principles, might be regarded as the Magna Charta or Bill of Rights of the newly emancipated Armenian community. It recognized that the individual and the millet had mutual obligations and respective rights. Each member of the millet was to share in the expenses of the community; he must perform any services asked of him; and he should submit to the administration's decisions. On the other hand, the millet was obligated to care for the moral, intellectual, and material wants of its members; to preserve intact the creed and traditions of the Armenian church; to provide education for

both sexes and all classes; to be concerned with the prosperity of the national institutions and the national income; and wisely to administer the national expenses — in short, to labor for the progress of the Armenian people. The central administration, which was stated to be representative, was recognized as the authority acting in behalf of the millet as well as supervising and administering it. And, finally, it was emphasized that the foundation of representative government rested on the principle of mutual rights and obligations, on the principle of equity, and that such a government derived its authority from a consensus of the majority.

The ninety-nine articles of the constitution established the machinery for a very elaborate system of organization and administration of the millet's ecclesiastical and civil affairs on the central, provincial, and local levels. The patriarch was recognized as the president and chief executive of all the national councils, the community's civil representative at the Porte, and the executor of imperial orders. He was to be elected by the general assembly and confirmed according to ancient custom by imperial edict. Should he act contrary to the National Constitution he was liable to impeachment, and if the charges were proved he was to be deposed by decision of the general assembly.

The constitution of 1863 vested the highest legislative authority in a representative general assembly composed of 140 deputies: twenty ecclesiastics elected by the clergy of the capital, forty lay deputies from the provinces including the bishoprics under the spiritual authority of the regional sees, and eighty lay deputies from the parishes of Constantinople and its suburbs. The lay deputies were to be elected by secret ballot and on a rotary system by all eligible Armenians throughout the empire. The functions of the general assembly included the election of the patriarchs of Constantinople and Jerusalem (but not the catholicoses of Cilicia and Aght'amar), participation through representatives in the election of the catholicos of Etchmiadzin, the election and supervision of the millet's executive councils and chief functionaries, the arbitration of disputes among the various administrative bodies, and the settling of differences of an exceptional character affecting the millet. The general assembly was to meet biennially in sessions lasting no more than two months, extraordinary sessions being convened only with the Porte's consent.

The national administration's executive powers were entrusted

to two separate bodies, the religious council composed of fourteen clerical members and the civil council composed of twenty laymen. These two councils, in charge of the millet's spiritual and temporal affairs respectively, were to assist the patriarch in the exercise of his executive duties. The councils, in turn, were to be assisted by four boards in charge of educational, financial, judicial, and monastic affairs and by three committees responsible for the management of the budget, wills, and the national hospital at Constantinople. The specific functions and mutual relations and obligations of these bodies were defined in considerable detail.

The constitution also provided for the establishment of provincial assemblies, and provincial executive councils corresponding to those of the central administration. The metropolitan of each province was recognized as the president and chief executive. He was to be elected by the provincial assembly and was to assume his office following confirmation by the patriarch and the national administration and official authorization of the Porte. On the local level, each parish at the capital and in the provinces was to be managed by a council or ephorate, composed entirely of laymen, which was to be elected by the parish and directly responsible to the boards and committees of the central administration. Upon each ephorate devolved the administration of the local church, the schools, and the other domestic affairs of the community.

The constitution also instituted a direct tax on each individual, payable to the exchequer of the patriarchate; the right of voting was made subject to the payment of this tax.

Absent entirely from the original constitution of 1860, but incorporated in the later version in consequence of the grave controversy with the patriarchate of Jerusalem, were articles related to that patriarchate. It is important to note that neither the constitution of 1860 nor that of 1863 made any reference whatever to the catholicosates of Cilicia and Aght'amar which by law were under the administrative authority of the patriarchate of Constantinople. This omission can be explained by the fact that, at the time of the promulgation of the constitution, no controversies had arisen with these sees. The experience with the monastic order of Jerusalem, however, should have awakened the central authorities to the need for a constitutional determination of their

relations with the other sees as well. As will be seen, the omission was to become a grave cause of friction, especially with the Cilian catholicosate.

The new organization and administration of the Armenian millet was a liberal, democratic, and representative system of government, resting on universal suffrage for the election of the legislative and executive bodies. The constitution was based on the principle of the sovereignty of the people; it made elective all civil and ecclesiastical offices, from the patriarch down, and it regulated the conduct of community affairs in such a way that arbitrary methods on the part of the aristocracy and conservative clergy would become impossible. A significant characteristic of the new system was its emphasis on the preponderant participation of the laity in the management of the millet's ecclesiastical and civil affairs on the central, provincial, and local levels.²² In consequence of this, the administration of Armenian society — hitherto largely controlled by the conservative clergy — was to a considerable extent secularized.²³

This admirably progressive document seems all the more remarkable when one compares it to the organizational and administrative structure of the other non-Muslim millets of the empire.²⁴ One should also bear in mind that it was achieved under the totalitarian system of the Ottoman government.

Significantly, nowhere in this document was there a guarantee of the Armenian millet's collective or individual rights. The constitution of 1860 did contain a provision (Article 8) specifying that the Porte would guarantee the religious and political rights of the millet and its members, but this article was omitted by the Porte in the ratified version of 1863.²⁵ On the other hand, the constitution provided for minimum imperial interference in the internal affairs of the millet.

Consonant with the old tradition, the state reserved to itself certain powers and rights, largely political in nature; at its insistence certain stipulations, missing in the draft of 1860, were incorporated into the new version. These provisions included the requirement that the patriarch be an Ottoman subject and worthy of the perfect confidence of the government. Election of the patriarch was subject to imperial confirmation; the Porte could also depose an incumbent who failed to comply with the decisions of the Armenian national administration. The same rights ob-

tained in relation to the religious and civil councils and the provincial metropolitans. As noted above the constitution also stipulated that the Porte's prior consent was required for extraordinary sessions of the national assembly. And, finally, no constitutional changes approved by the national assembly could be effected by the millet without ratification by imperial edict.

The new constitutional form of government experienced growing pains and met with many obstacles.²⁶ The cumbersome administrative machinery hindered the smooth and effective operation of the millet's affairs. Moreover the work in behalf of popular liberty had only begun with the promulgation of the constitution. A long process of education was necessary to impress the people with the real meaning and value of a popular franchise. The task was not an easy one, but gradually the principles and practice of representative and liberal government took root. The new ideas of constitutional government also provided an important impulse to the Armenian cultural renaissance and national development which marked the second half of the nineteenth century.

The emergence in the last quarter of the nineteenth century of the so-called Armenian Question, which seriously strained the relations between the Ottoman government and the Armenian millet, had a most adverse effect upon the millet's internal administration. The Armenians' political and social progress under the impact of their constitution could not fail to excite the distrust of the despotic Sultan Abdul Hamid, who viewed with grave suspicion the strange paradox of a liberal system flourishing under the shadow of his tyrannical rule. During the incumbency of Patriarch Harut'iun Vehapetian (1885-1888), the Porte sought to curtail the prerogatives of the patriarch, under the pretext that they were political in nature and therefore belonged to the various Ottoman ministries. Thanks to Vehapetian's steadfast defense of the community's centuries-old rights in these matters, however, the millet succeeded in retaining its traditional jurisdictions.²⁷ Nevertheless, relations between the government and the millet continued to deteriorate especially as a result of the Armenians' increasingly vociferous demands for reforms to improve conditions in the eastern provinces, the sultan's growing suspicion of his Armenian subjects, and the intensification of the Armenian revolutionary movement with the resultant dire consequences.²⁸ As a result of these strained relations, beginning in 1892

the Armenian National Constitution was for all practical purposes in abeyance, although the Ottoman government never entirely suppressed the constitution, and the millet's general assembly continued to meet regularly in Constantinople. The restoration of the Turkish Constitution in 1908 for a while produced a glimmering of hope for a better future, but the Young Turks' policy of Armenian genocide soon frustrated all such hopes.

CHAPTER III

The Historical Evolution and Economic Status of the Communities in Syria

THE ALEPPINE COMMUNITY

IN THE OTTOMAN period Armenian émigrés first arrived in Aleppo in the second half of the sixteenth century. This group came from Cilicia, principally from the regions of Marash and Zeytun. Toward the end of the same century another group, consisting primarily of traders, came from Julfa in Armenia. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries there were periodic migrations of ecclesiastics and laymen from the town of Karkarh, on the left bank of the Euphrates. The émigrés in the middle of the seventeenth century were principally from Sasun; these colonizers, who were followed by others from the same town in later times, distinguished themselves at Aleppo as bakers, millers, and wheat traders. In 1737 Armenian settlers arrived from Erzurum, and in the 1740's there was a new wave of migration from Cilicia. The magnates originally of Julfa, after occupying a position of prominence in Aleppine commerce and in the administration of the local Armenian community's affairs for over two centuries, gradually dwindled in number and influence. They were replaced by a group of enterprising merchants who, beginning in the eighteenth century, arrived from the Anatolian cities of Akin, Arapkir, and the villages in their vicinities. These traders, and the artisans who accompanied them, gradually emerged as the dominant class in the Aleppine community. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Armenian colonization was principally from Erzurum, Erzincan and Akin, as well as from Cilicia, notably Ayntab and Marash. And, finally, subsequent to the Hamidian massacres of 1895-96, refugees arrived from eastern Anatolia as well.¹

The period from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries stands out as the most prosperous era in the history of the Armenians of Aleppo, from the standpoint of the organization of their ecclesiastico-national institutions as well as their economic status. Their two churches continued as the centers of Armenian religious and secular activity. In due time, like other Christian groups, they settled in not only the Salibiya and Jidayda but also the Hart Sis and Hart-Zibbal quarters of the city.

The pre-eminent position of Aleppo among the Armenian communities of northern Syria stemmed primarily from its significance as one of the most important centers of international trade, as well as its emergence as a center of intense Christian, especially Catholic, missionary activity. The Franco-Ottoman treaty of 1535 and similar agreements concluded subsequently between the sultan and England and other European countries — which served as the bases of the foreign Capitulations in the Ottoman empire — opened Turkish ports to European traders and enabled them to engage in commercial activities throughout the eastern Mediterranean.² In consequence of their special status and privileges, colonies of French, English, Dutch, German, Venetian, and other European merchants grew up in Syrian towns, and through their hands passed most of the trade between Europe and the Levant.³ They traded under the protection of their consuls, chiefly through the intermediary of the native Christians and Jews, in the main importing European manufactured goods and exporting Oriental raw materials and spices. Despite the very high customs duties and the maladministration of the Ottoman officials, external trade remained very lucrative. Nor did political events impede the expansion of trade. The intensity of the commercial traffic necessitated the construction of numerous khans which served as inns, exchanges, and warehouses for the foreign traders. Strategically situated between Mesopotamia, the Anatolian provinces, and the Mediterranean Sea, Aleppo soon became an important center of this trade. Although her importance began to wane after the discovery of the sea route to the East Indies, it still remained a flourishing center of international commerce in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.⁴

Armenian traders began to play significant roles as intermediaries in this international trade as early as the sixteenth century.⁵ In the main these were natives of Anatolia, the Caucasus, and Persia,

and among them the so-called *Arewelts'is* (literally, easterners), or merchants from Julfa, occupied a prominent position. The ancient town of Julfa in Armenia, on the north bank of the Araxes River, was conveniently located to serve the commercial traffic between Persia, Armenia, Anatolia, the Caucasus, and Russia. The town prospered in the Middle Ages as an important center of transit trade, thanks to the enterprising native Armenian middlemen. Toward the end of the sixteenth century, however, Julfa began to be coveted by both Turkey and Persia, and the insecurity resulting from their aggression and plundering had an adverse effect on the town's economic position. In consequence the native merchants gradually abandoned Julfa and migrated to other lands. Then in 1605 Shah Abbas the Great of Persia destroyed Julfa and forcibly carried off its entire Armenian population to Persia, chiefly to his capital Ispahan,⁶ where the flourishing Armenian colony of New Julfa subsequently developed.⁷

Before and especially after the destruction of Old Julfa, the native traders emigrated in three directions. Some went to Persia, Mesopotamia, India, Indonesia, and other countries in the Far East, where they founded mercantile communities.⁸ Some settled in Europe, notably at Venice, Livorno, and Amsterdam, where they founded similar commercial establishments.⁹

The third group chose Aleppo as the center of their commercial activities. The first mention of these traders at Aleppo dates back to the last quarter of the fifteenth century, when they peddled their merchandise, mostly manufactured silk and linen, on beasts of burden in the town as well as in its neighboring villages.¹⁰ By the 1550's the local Armenian community counted in its ranks a large number of prominent merchants from Julfa, who as enterprising and wealthy magnates occupied an important position in Aleppo's international trade. These men, who were referred to as *Khochas* (mercantile magnates), engaged in a large-scale transit trade between Europe and the Orient, principally by acting as intermediaries between the European colonists at Aleppo and the eastern markets or by establishing direct contacts with the producing firms in Europe through the agency of foreign consuls. During the years 1590-1632 the French, English, Dutch, Venetian, and Spanish merchants at Aleppo conducted their silk trade solely with the mercantile firm of Khocha Petik, who apparently monopolized the supply of this product. He and his brother Khocha

Sanos operated a vast network of commercial establishments in Anatolia, Persia, and India, supplying raw silk and in exchange distributing European manufactured goods. Petik's large-scale enterprise was considerably enhanced by the fact that he also served as customs director of all Syria extending from Alexandretta to Tripoli and as superintendent of the khans, baths, and other institutions of Aleppo. Little wonder, then, that a contemporary chronicler claims that Petik went about like a pasha attended by a retinue of thirty to forty troops.¹¹ His commercial contacts were principally with Holland, which can be explained by the fact that the small but active colony of Armenian merchants at Amsterdam were, like Petik himself, mainly from Old Julfa. Moreover, he is even said to have served as the official commercial representative of Holland at Aleppo. In his capacity of chief of customs in Syria, Petik also had close contacts with the sultan's palace at Constantinople and with the Sublime Porte. He contributed substantially to the revenues of the imperial treasury.¹²

The house of Petik and Sanos was not the only one at Aleppo which had its origins in Old Julfa. Records show that in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries there were here a number of commercial tycoons from New Julfa and Mazanderan. In the same period a number of Armenian merchants from Sis and other Cilician towns joined their ranks. Many merchants were attracted to the Armenian-inhabited quarter of Jidayda when in 1652 Governor Ibshir Pasha of Aleppo constructed a large caravansary and several khans there. These establishments also served as warehouses of all kinds of European goods for distribution in eastern and northern Anatolia, Mesopotamia, and Persia.

The commercial importance of Aleppo in this era is also attested to by the fact that Ottoman gold and silver coins were minted in the city. During the years 1630-1660 a number of Armenians were entrusted with the superintendency of the mint, and even as late as the end of the seventeenth century local Armenian *sarrafs* (money-changers) for the most part handled the business of foreign exchange.¹³

The period extending from the middle of the sixteenth to about the end of the seventeenth centuries marks the golden age of Armenian Aleppine commerce, with the natives of Old and New Julfa occupying a position of pre-eminence.¹⁴ The gradual decline of the role of merchants of Julfa origin coincided with the inflow

of Armenians from Akin and Arapkir in Anatolia. These enterprising merchants soon replaced those of Julfa as commercial tycoons, though on a relatively smaller scale. The natives of Arapkir, situated to the north of Malatya, traditionally migrated to seek their fortunes in such metropolitan centers as Constantinople, Diyarbekir, Damascus, Aleppo, and the Mediterranean seaports. At Aleppo the migrant Armenians at first served as agents, cooks, and servants of wealthy Christians. Many entered into the service of governors, high-ranking civilian and military officials, foreign consulates, and commercial firms; in time these amassed great wealth by establishing independent commercial enterprises. Indeed, during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries many natives of Arapkir distinguished themselves as chamberlains, commercial agents, and bankers in the more than one hundred khans and caravansaries at Aleppo.¹⁵

In the first half of the nineteenth century the economic prosperity and trading connections of Aleppo were seriously jeopardized by the instability of the Mediterranean area resulting from the campaigns of Napoleon Bonaparte, the maladministration of Syria under Ottoman officialdom and the mutinies of the Janisaries, a number of earthquakes, and the ravages of cholera and plague.¹⁶ The opening of the Suez Canal in the second half of the nineteenth century further reduced the importance of Aleppo as a center of international trade. It was only in the 1880's that the city began to revive economically. A traveler in 1868 reported that despite the economic decline the local Armenian community still possessed a number of well-known merchants whose firms had branches in eastern Asia Minor, as well as in Baghdad, Basra, and Persia. He also referred to migrants at Aleppo from the Armenian provinces of Turkey who engaged in commerce and small businesses.¹⁷

In 1859 two Armenian Aleppine merchants, Hovhannēs K'jurk'jianōf and Sargis K'ēōsēian, founded the Aramian Savings Society, which aimed at assisting the commercial endeavors of its members and elevating the educational standards of the community. The founders estimated that if six hundred subscribers invested fixed amounts in weekly dues, a sum of 375,000 piasters would be realized as capital within ten years, which was the proposed duration of the society. This capital was to be used for the establishment of a commercial firm at Aleppo to be administered by a commit-

tee elected by the subscribers. The subscribers were to receive dividends from the firm's earnings, each according to the number of shares he owned, and a proportionate amount was to be earmarked for the founding of a first-rate educational institution at Aleppo.¹⁸

The initial response seems to have been encouraging, but the project apparently did not succeed. In 1866 K'iurk'jianōf came up with a new plan for the organization of an Aramian Commercial Society. Its elaborate regulations envisaged the functioning of the organization for twenty years; it was to have a capital fund of 500,000 francs to be provided by the sale throughout the empire of 1000 subscription-shares each valued at 500 francs. The society was to have branches in various cities, and its purpose was to engage in commercial activities and to provide capital to Armenians for investment in specific enterprises. For ten years 10 percent of its annual net proceeds was to be distributed among the shareholders; the remaining sum was to be used to establish boarding schools, some of whose graduates were to be sent to Europe for advanced studies. It was hoped that an outstanding trade school would be founded in Cilicia. Finally, at the expiration of its twenty-year existence, the society's assets were to be turned over to the central authorities of the Armenian millet at Constantinople.¹⁹

There can be little doubt that the author of the scheme was genuinely motivated by a desire for the material and intellectual advancement of the provincial Armenians. From the practical standpoint, however, his progressive plans proved to be both impractical and ambitious, for their success depended on the wholehearted support and cooperation of a large number of his countrymen. The scheme was widely publicized in the Armenian press and received the formal approval of the national administration at Constantinople, but the popular response was sporadic and insufficient, and it eventually failed.

Beginning in the 1880's the commercial activities of the leading members of the Armenian Aleppine community were in the main confined to the role of middlemen or commission agents and to small-scale banking, particularly with Constantinople. Subsequent to the widespread Turkish pogroms in Anatolia in 1895-96 a large number of refugee merchants chose Aleppo as their new home and established commercial contacts with firms

in the eastern provinces. This trade consisted largely of shipments of local goods to eastern Anatolia and Cilicia. Armenians continued to serve in the khans, banks, and foreign consulates until the general massacres of World War I dealt a severe blow to the once-flourishing Armenian community.²⁰

The economic functions of the Armenian Aleppine community were not confined to commerce alone. Indeed, since the first settlement in the fourteenth century the majority of the colonists brought with them their traditional arts, crafts, and trades, and established small workshops, developing their trades as hereditary family occupations.²¹ One home industry which engaged numerous Armenians of both sexes was the weaving of textiles in silk, wool, and cotton; as a rule the cellars of private homes served as workshops. Armenian artisans also developed the art of dyeing which for several centuries remained a major Armenian monopoly. From the fourteenth century onwards, a large proportion of the Aleppine goldsmiths were Armenians, including a number of clergymen who engaged in it in their spare time. Other local trades in which the Armenians distinguished themselves included tailoring and furriery. Many expert artisans achieved fame and wealth as personal tailors and furriers of governors and other Ottoman officials and their families; some became procurors of uniforms for the army and security forces. Not less widespread among the Armenians were shoemaking and carpentry. Tannery was in effect an Armenian trade. Immigrants from Urfa and Ayn-tab, in particular, specialized in masonry and in cutting and dressing stones. A sizable number made and repaired watches; others painted and decorated homes with frescoes. In 1880 an Armenian, Grigor Mësérlian, initiated the art of professional photography at Aleppo, which since has remained a largely Armenian occupation. The natives of Sasun, who had arrived in Aleppo about the middle of the seventeenth century, for some three hundred years practically monopolized the sale of wheat as well as the baking and distribution of bread and confectionery.

It appears that the wheat dealers and bakers were the only Armenian artisans organized as a distinct trade guild. The group, whose members all originated in Sasun, elected its chief, who thus acquired the honorific title of sheikh. It was his responsibility to negotiate the purchase and sale of mills and bakeries, to settle disputes among members, to represent the guild before the local

government, and to act as liaison between the group and the authorities of the Armenian national church and community.²²

THE COMMUNITIES IN NORTHWESTERN SYRIA

The Armenian communities which existed in northwestern Syria during the hegemony of the Crusaders were considerably augmented by the influx of settlers from Cilicia after its occupation by the Mamelukes, and continued to survive during the entire period of Ottoman dominion. These settlements were in the Amanus, the valley of the Orontes, and the Levantine coastal regions extending from the ports of Payas and Alexandretta in the north to Latakia in the south.²³

The principal Armenian enclaves were located in Antioch and its neighboring villages of Ghaniyah, Ya'qubiyah, Sramo, and Ghnamiyah. In the Amanus there were communities at Payas, Alexandretta, Suwaydiyah, and their immediate villages. On the slopes of Musa Dagħ (also known as Jabal Musa and Kizil Dagħ), Armenians were concentrated in the exclusive villages of Yoghun-Oluk, Haji Habibli, Kheder-Bek, Vakif, Kabusiyah, and Bityas, and also lived with the local Turkomans, Alaouites, and Arabs in nearby villages. In the region of Jabal 'Aqra (Mount Cassius) not only the principal town of Kasab but also the neighboring villages of Karaduran, Korkune, Chakaljik, Chinarijik, Kayajik, Ekiz-Oluk, Düz-Aghach, Eski-Ören, Baghjaghaz, Dusdur, and Bashurd were inhabited almost solely by Armenians. There were, moreover, other villages in the same general vicinity where members of this ethnic group lived alongside the natives.²⁴ The existence of a number of sanctuaries, now in ruins, in the vicinity of Kasab²⁵ suggest the presence over the centuries of an organized network of Armenian monastic and ecclesiastical institutions. They also indicate the large size of the community there in medieval times as well as under the earlier period of Ottoman rule. A substantial segment of the ancestors of the modern community of Jabal 'Aqra arrived in the first half of the seventeenth century from the Cilician regions of Sis, Zeytun, and Hajin, in consequence of the atrocities perpetrated by the Zulkadiroghlu or Chapanoghlu Turkomans.²⁶

The communities mentioned thus far do not exhaust the catalogue of the Armenian settlements in northwestern Syria. In his

report to the prelate of the bishopric of Aleppo, submitted after a fact-finding tour of the communities in the Ottoman province of Aleppo in 1867, the ecclesiastic D. Tēr-Dawt'iants' refers to a substantial number of other enclaves of Armenians living among Turkomans, Kurds, Alaouites, Arabs, Greeks, and so forth.²⁷ Among these, special mention should be made of the town of Kilis in north Syria which in 1867 had an estimated Armenian population of some four thousand individuals. The report indicates that a certain proportion of these isolated and, in the main, neglected and backward Armenian communities had adopted social mores and customs that were characteristic not of the ethnic element to which they belonged but of the Muslim peoples among whom they lived, and that some had also been converted to Islam.

Throughout the Ottoman period the Armenian settlers in north-western Syria were, in the main, peasants. In contrast, the Armenians at Alexandretta were petty merchants and small-scale commission agents;²⁸ at Antioch they were largely artisans and craftsmen, though not a few were engaged in commerce;²⁹ at Kilis they were traders, artisans, and farmers;³⁰ and at Beylan, a resort town, and its neighboring villages, they were primarily fruit and vegetable growers.³¹

A report on the economic status of the Armenian villages of Musa Dagh, prepared in the fall of 1910, that is, some fifteen months after the Turkish massacres of Armenians in Cilicia and northwestern Syria, provides sufficient information on the traditional occupations of the villagers and the effects of the pogroms upon the economy.³² The principal occupation of the two hundred and twenty-five families in the village of Kabusiyah was sericulture, limited to a few months a year. This economic activity was financed by loans from Antiochene merchants. The villagers in the main owned their land, which they mortgaged; because of the high rates of interest and insufficient revenue from their properties, however, they were almost constantly indebted. After the pogroms the Antiochene merchants were reluctant to extend loans. The community's economy suffered considerably as a result of this and of the isolation of the village from the neighboring country, the unsuitability of the land for cultivation, and the lack of arts and crafts.

About one third of the villagers of Yoghun-Oluk were tradi-

tionally engaged in the manufacture of handmade combs, exported to neighboring villages; 5 percent manufactured silk; another 5 percent were unskilled laborers; and the remainder were muleteers, peddlers, and so forth. The villagers traded extensively with the neighboring rural population until the pogroms, which seriously curtailed their activity. The artisan class, which had been relatively prosperous, suffered most from the Turkish attacks because of the decimation of the male population.

In the two adjacent villages of Kheder-Bek and Vakif the artisan class was small, and the home industry consisted primarily of the manufacture of handwoven textiles. Before 1909 many of the villagers earned their livelihood in the adjacent villages as peddlers, shoemakers, masons, and the like. Antiochene merchants financed the local industries up to the time of the pogroms. About one fifth of the estimated three hundred Armenian families in the village of Haji Habibli were engaged in sericulture, until the Turkish massacres brought the total collapse of this industry and reduced the well-to-do families to penury. The village of Bityas, with some one hundred and eighty families, was the poorest among the Armenian villages in Musa Dagh.

It is clear that the massacres of 1909 took a heavy toll in Musa Dagh. The male population was decimated; the prevailing insecurity in the wake of the atrocities prevented the villagers from seeking employment elsewhere; and there was a rise in the cost of living. These circumstances were further aggravated by the low level of the villagers' educational standards, the villagers' failure to develop basic artisan skills, the heavy reliance on sericulture which at best was a short-term industry, and the lack of adequate community leadership.

The economy of the exclusively Armenian town of Kasab and the villages in its immediate vicinity in the region of Jabal 'Aqra rested in the main on cultivation despite the general unsuitability of the terrain. For the most part, these Armenians lived on small family farms; their principal products were tobacco, silk, and daphne oil, which were exported to Aleppo, Adana, Beirut, Cyprus, and Egypt. They also produced cereals and fruits in smaller quantities; and for local consumption they raised livestock, mainly sheep and cattle. Unlike the villagers of Musa Dagh, they also engaged in various trades and crafts, principally weaving, blacksmithing, coppersmithing, and so forth. Despite this

economic activity many a villager from this region was frequently forced to seek seasonal employment elsewhere, principally at Alexandretta, Ayas, and Mersin. The vogue of artificial silk in the second half of the nineteenth century had a most adverse effect on the region's sericultural industry. Moreover, when toward the end of the century a French company acquired a monopoly on tobacco, cultivation of this crop, too, suffered considerable decline, for the company not only fixed the price but also determined the quantity that was henceforward to be produced. Finally, the devastations resulting from the Turkish pogroms of 1909 dealt a severe blow to the economic viability of these Armenian villages.³³

THE SETTLEMENT OF LATAKIA

As we have seen, Latakia (ancient Laodicea) was the seat of an Armenian bishopric during the Frankish hegemony in the Levant. This testifies to the existence of a substantial colony and a large and organized ecclesiastical institution encompassing the city and the villages in its environs. Under Mameluke and Ottoman rule the size of these communities was considerably diminished by emigration to other, especially Christian, countries and by assimilation with the native Christian and Muslim populations, since in this later period the records no longer refer to an Armenian bishopric.

Under Ottoman dominion the Armenian community's religious and social life centered about the monastery and church of St. Mary, the exact date of whose original construction is uncertain. This institution, together with the *hogetun* (hospice) for transient pilgrims, was administered by a clerical representative of the patriarchate of Jerusalem. Not far from Latakia there were four exclusively Armenian villages, each consisting of 45 to 50 families. In the second half of the nineteenth century these villages not only lacked ecclesiastical organization but were deprived of any spiritual supervision and educational facilities. The largest was the village of Aramō, situated east of Latakia in the Jabal Nabi-Yunis. In and around Aramō there were a number of Armenian monasteries and churches which, together with large landholdings and farms, had been prosperous until the beginning of the nineteenth century. These neglected institutions, too, were

administered by the prelate of Latakia in behalf of the see of Jerusalem.

A visitor to these villages in 1864 found the monasteries and churches in ruins, and the village of Aramō deserted. The villagers had fled to the nearby mountains — where they lived miserably in shacks and caves — as a result of the harsh actions of the Nusayri Muqaddam clan, whose chieftain had expropriated the land and distributed it among his clansmen. Worse still, the Muqaddams had coerced these villagers into tilling their ancestral lands for their new masters without any compensation. Their misery was further increased by all manner of exorbitant lawful and unlawful taxes demanded by the local Turkish authorities, who also fed their cavalry soldiers and animals at the expense of the villagers. And, finally, the revenues from the cultivated lands of Aramō and its environs, which actually belonged to the Armenian villagers, were turned over to the French and Russian consuls of Latakia in payment of Muqaddam debts.³⁴ It is not known whether the prelate of Latakia or the patriarchate of Jerusalem, or even the national authorities at Constantinople, concerned themselves with amelioration of the villagers' plight; it is certain, however, that they received no relief from any quarter.

THE DAMASCENE COMMUNITY

The history of the Armenian colonization of Damascus prior to the Ottoman period is still obscure. The Arabs, during their rule in Armenia, periodically carried off Armenian captives to other parts of their empire, including the Umayyad capital of Damascus. Whether there was an established community in this important Syrian metropolis under the Arabs as well as under the Mamelukes cannot be easily determined from historical works and manuscript colophons. One colophon indicates that an Armenian manuscript (*Haysmawurk'*) and a chasuble were donated to the patriarchate of Jerusalem by the vardapet Arhak'el and Arewshah Khōshadam Agha; these items were received at Damascus in 1445 by Bishop Abraham of Jerusalem.³⁵ Nevertheless, it is important to note that the various collections of Armenian colophons do not include a single manuscript written at Damascus prior to the fifteenth century. Under the Ottomans the monastery and church of St. Sargis was the nucleus of the small Armenian

ecclesiastical and secular community of Damascus. The date of the construction of this church is unknown, but the fact that it was restored in 1617 by the patriarchate of Jerusalem suggests that it was built at the latest in the sixteenth century.

Before and after the Ottoman conquest, Damascus enjoyed a certain degree of economic prosperity. Situated in the Syrian hinterland and without easy access to the Mediterranean Sea, it quite naturally turned toward the interior. Since it was located along the road which crossed Syria from north to south, and also because of its location in the middle of a rich oasis, the city served as a market for nomads and as a station for caravans. Trade with Europe was carried on via the ports of the province of Damascus, the most important of which was Sidon. Damascus was not only a center of trade, but also the annual meetingplace of tens of thousands of Muslim pilgrims coming from the north of the Ottoman empire, as it was the last stop in settled country on the route to Mecca. This influx brought about intense commercial activity and constituted the city's principal source of income. The pilgrims provisioned themselves with mounts, camping materials, and other supplies in preparation for a journey which lasted three months; and on their way back from Mecca they stopped off at Damascus and sold there what they had bought in Arabia.³⁶

Unlike those of Aleppo the Armenians of Damascus do not seem to have played a notable role in the city's commerce. A certain proportion engaged in commercial activities and operated small-scale businesses, but the majority were artisans and shopkeepers.

The Druze-Maronite community strife in Lebanon, which culminated in the massacre of Christians in 1860, produced grave repercussions in Damascus as well. On July 12, 1860, the Muslims invaded the Christian quarters, set them on fire, and slaughtered at least ten thousand inhabitants; the intervention of the Amir 'Abd al-Qadir, exiled from Algeria, saved some hundreds of lives.³⁷ Like other Christians the Armenians suffered heavy human and material losses, including the monastery of St. Sargis.

In March 1875 a group of Damascene Armenians founded the Haykazian Society, which aimed at improving the community's economic status.³⁸ The society's objective was to engage exclusively in financial investment for the benefit of its subscribers.

Membership was limited to 150 individuals; each share was worth one-quarter Ottoman lira; and each member was to pay weekly dues of forty-five para for three years. Women were admitted as members, but they were denied voting rights in the organization's assembly. The society had an executive council elected by the general membership; its responsibility was to invest the assets of the association, primarily by advancing loans to its members at a fixed rate of interest. There is evidence that this investment organization actually began its proposed operations, but documentary information concerning its progress is wanting.

THE COMMUNITIES IN BEIRUT AND MOUNT LEBANON

Following the downfall of the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia in 1375 a large group of Armenians migrated to Lebanon and settled principally in Tripoli, the neighboring villages of Zagharta and Ihdin, Juniyah, and the region of Ghazir. In the course of time most of these migrants were assimilated by the native Christian populations.³⁹

Subsequent to the Ottoman conquest of Lebanon at the beginning of the sixteenth century, the country enjoyed a unique position in the mosaic complex of the empire. It was ruled not by Turkish governors but by local feudal lords; and the Druzes and Maronites, the two largest communities, were mostly subject to their own laws administered by their respective religious heads. The hegemony of the Ma'n dynasty in Lebanon reached its zenith under Fakhr al-Din II (1590-1635), who sought the creation of a greater Lebanon and the severing of its links with the Porte. By 1610 he had succeeded in incorporating into his state the sanjaks of Beirut and Sidon, northern Lebanon, and the regions to the south, including Mount Carmel. In 1613 the sultan sent an army against Fakhr al-Din to put an end to his separatist and expansionist efforts, but when he returned in 1618 from his self-imposed exile in Italy, Fakhr al-Din recovered whatever territories were lost in his absence; and in 1624 the Porte, recognizing the *fait accompli*, acknowledged him lord of the territories extending from Aleppo to the borders of Egypt. Nevertheless, his efforts to increase the scale of armament, his negotiations with Europeans, and his sympathy with Christianity attracted once more the suspicious eye of the sultan. Fakhr al-Din and his three

sons were banished to Constantinople and beheaded on April 13, 1635. In 1697 the Shihabs succeeded to the political heritage of the Ma'n dynasty and held the reins of government until 1841. Bashir II (1788-1840) pursued the same politico-economic objectives initiated by Fakhr al-Din, and under him Lebanon prospered no less than under his illustrious predecessor.⁴⁰

Not until the seventeenth century is there any record of another sizable Armenian migration to Lebanon. This was the period when Fakhr al-Din II encouraged the settlement in his territories of political refugees and religious minorities, and when Christian families migrated from Syria to Lebanon to escape Ottoman tyrannical rule.⁴¹ According to an unpublished Armenian manuscript,⁴² there were

in the region of Jubbat Bisharri monasteries possessing inscriptions in Armenian, as testified by the superior-general of the Antonians-Ghassayans, also called Pêlêti [Baladi]. [The superior-general] asserted that these monasteries numbered between thirteen and fifteen, which at one time belonged to our [Armenian] nation, and which now are in the hands of the Maronite Pêlêti [Baladi] monks. This is not surprising, because in the years 1683-1690 a certain Azaria Gharip, and some seven priests, as well as clergy and people (which some assert numbered 10,000, but which was probably 1000) who had fled from Sis, arrived in the above-mentioned region and lived [under the protection of] the Maronite patriarchate at Qannubin, where, it is said, there also lived a certain Bishop Hakob of Marash.

The definitive union of the Maronite church with the see of Rome was consummated at the synod of al-Luwayzah in Lebanon in 1736.⁴³ Toward the end of the seventeenth century, the Maronites began to welcome to their territories in Lebanon Greek, Syrian, and Armenian refugees who had defected from their historic native churches, and also admitted pupils from these groups into their seminaries. Moreover, the Maronite feudal lords, notably the Khazin sheikhs of the district of Kisrawan, bestowed lands and money on these newcomers and helped establish them in their adopted home.⁴⁴ Under the hereditary governorship of the Khazins, Kisrawan became a flourishing Christian district,⁴⁵ and Syrian, Greek, and Armenian Catholic communities were planted in north Lebanon.

The Armenians who migrated to Lebanon in the last quarter of

the seventeenth century were for the most part people who were persecuted by the authorities of the Armenian church and millet because of their adherence to the Catholic faith and who sought a safe refuge among the Maronites. It must be assumed that the monasteries founded in the region of Jubbat Bisharri belonged to these converts, and that subsequent to their assimilation with the natives these institutions passed into the hands of the Maronite church. Andr  as Aghek'sandrian claims that toward the end of the nineteenth century a total of only twenty-five Armenian families, or some two hundred individuals, remained under the care of the Armenian Catholic monastic institution of Zmmar. He asserts that "numerous families had been assimilated with the Maronites," as substantiated by the Armenian origin of such families as the Bayt-Armani, Bayt-Bitar, Bayt-Zwayn, Bayt-Murad, and so forth.⁴⁶ It is also claimed that the village of Bayt al-Bay  , near Zaghart  , was founded some centuries ago by Hanna Ghadadiyah, a Latinized Armenian refugee from Aleppo, whose descendants, the Bayyans, now represent an Arabic-speaking Armenian family of some two hundred individuals.⁴⁷

Until about the beginning of the nineteenth century the majority of Armenians who settled in Mount Lebanon were Catholics and they had come principally to escape religious persecution by the authorities of the Armenian millet. They were welcomed not only by the Armenian Catholic hierarchy in Lebanon, founded in the first half of the eighteenth century, and by the friendly Maronites. They also enjoyed the protection of the native rulers, notably Bashir II, who encouraged such political refugees and religious minorities. During the period 1828-1830, when the anti-Catholic repressive measures of the authorities of the national church reached a climax, numerous Armenians from Erzurum, Khotrjur, Tar  n, and elsewhere in Asia Minor, took refuge at the monastery of Zmmar, the seat of the Armenian Catholic hierarchy.⁴⁸ During the years 1847-1860, in addition to those who had settled in the Christian districts of Mount Lebanon, there were some sixty Armenian Catholic families in the port city of Beirut as well.⁴⁹

The origin of the modern community at Beirut, which remained loyal to the national church, can be traced to the first half of the nineteenth century. The founding of the monastery and church of St. Nshan in 1851 aimed at meeting the spiritual needs of some

twenty families,⁵⁰ and also at accommodating pilgrims journeying to the Holy Land. The local ecclesiastical institution and the community were administered in behalf of the patriarchate of Jerusalem by clerics appointed by the see.

The conflict between the Maronites and Druzes of Lebanon, which lasted from 1840–1860, resulted from the Druze resentment against Bashir II's efforts to undermine the authority of their feudal chiefs; the numerical increase and heightened prestige of Christians in Druze regions; the political rivalry of European powers and the fomenting of trouble by their agents among the Maronites and Druzes; and the new Ottoman policy, under Sultan Abdul Mejid, which sought to keep Mount Lebanon under control by sowing the seeds of discord between the two preponderant elements. The civil strife, which culminated in the massacre of 1860 by Druzes in connivance with Ottoman authorities, took a heavy toll of Christians.⁵¹ Before the landing of French troops in Lebanon, Fuat Pasha, Ottoman minister of foreign affairs and extraordinary commissioner, arrived there with Turkish troops, as did a fact-finding commission which included a number of Armenian officials.⁵² The pasha dealt sternly with those functionaries who had connived at or collaborated in the massacres, putting a number to death. On June 9, 1861, the European powers and Turkey agreed on a new *règlement organique* for Lebanon,⁵³ which, except for some minor changes effected in 1864, remained the law of the country until World War I.⁵⁴ This new arrangement marked the end of Lebanon's rule by indigenous amirs and the beginning of rule by an Ottoman governor under supervision of a concert of European powers.

The statute reconstituted Lebanon as an autonomous governorship (*mutasarrifiyah*) under a Christian governor-general (*mutasarrif*) of the Catholic faith designated by the Porte and approved by the signatory powers. This chief executive was appointed for a renewable term of five years and was responsible directly to the Porte. He was empowered to collect taxes, appoint judges and execute their sentences, and maintain law and order through a local militia. He was assisted by an elective administrative council of twelve representatives from the different religious communities. Subgovernors, determined by the prevailing religious group, administered each of the seven *qazas* (districts) into which the Lebanese province was divided. The natural ports

of Lebanon, namely, Beirut, Sidon, and Tripoli, as well as the Bīqā' and Wādī al-Taym, however, were put under direct Ottoman rule. Finally, the statute abolished all feudal privileges, and the population of Lebanon was exempted from military service and the tribute due to the Porte.

These historic developments, which ushered in an era of relative tranquility and prosperity in Lebanon hardly matched in any other province of the Ottoman empire, were especially significant from the standpoint of the Armenian associations with the province. Of the eight governors-general of Lebanon under the new regime, the first and the last, namely, Karapet Artin Daud Pasha (1861-1868) and Ōhannēs Guyumjian Pasha (1912-1915), were Armenian Catholics. Daud Pasha, by far the ablest of the governors and also the most genuinely concerned for the welfare of the country, had already distinguished himself as an Ottoman civil servant and diplomat. He had served as an attaché to the Ottoman embassy at Berlin, as consul-general at Vienna, and as director of the telegraph office at Constantinople. His authorship of a French work on ancient German jurisprudence⁵⁵ had earned him international recognition as an erudite scholar. His task of normalizing Maronite-Druze relations and of implementing the new statute was not an easy one; yet in both endeavors he achieved remarkable success. During his tenure of office a highway network was constructed which linked not only Beirut with Damascus but also the towns and villages of north and south Lebanon. Taxes were lowered and more evenly distributed; the administration of government, justice, and security was reorganized; educational facilities were vastly improved; and the economic growth of the country, particularly agriculture and commerce, was stimulated by the enactment of progressive laws. A number of honors bestowed on him by the Ottoman sultan, Emperor Napoleon III of France, the pope, and others attest to his great achievements.⁵⁶

Under Daud Pasha's regime the administration of Mount Lebanon included a number of Armenians who had arrived with him from the Ottoman capital.⁵⁷ He also encouraged the settlement of Armenians in the country, a fact which seems to have incited some natives to criticize him for allegedly attempting to create an "Armenian state" in Lebanon. It has also been suggested, without any substantiation, that he sought unsuccessfully

to effect the political merger of Lebanon with Cilicia, which was inhabited by a large Armenian population.⁵⁸ Be that as it may, it is certain that Daud's orderly administration of Lebanon and its improved economic facilities did indeed attract an increasing number of Armenians to the country.

Except for Rustem Pasha (1873-1883), the governors-general who succeeded Daud Pasha were less concerned about the welfare of Lebanon than about gaining the favor of the Porte.⁵⁹ Ohannēs Guyumjian Pasha, the last in the series of governors-general, had had a successful career in diplomatic service and in the Ottoman foreign ministry. His three-year (1912-1915) tenure of office as governor-general of Lebanon, however, was marked by disagreements with the Young Turk regime. The pasha's sympathies were manifestly identified with the interests of Lebanon. He prevented a French company from securing a monopoly on the country's tobacco, which constituted one of the principal sources of revenue of the peasantry. And he vigorously protested when at the outbreak of the war the Turks decided to station troops in Lebanon, contrary to the provisions of its statute, and sought to disarm the non-Turkish, especially Christian, population. As a result in August 1915 the Porte replaced him with a Turk and thus established direct Turkish rule in the province, a regime which lasted until the end of the war.⁶⁰

Since the short-lived occupation (1831-1840) of historic Syria by Ibrahim Pasha of Egypt, Beirut had gradually attained a position of pre-eminence among the Levantine ports. Moreover, as residence for consuls-general, headquarters for European and American missionaries, and as a growing center of international trade and industry, Beirut attracted a cosmopolitan population. With the modernization of the port, the construction of the Beirut-Damascus highway and railroad, and the improved methods of sea transportation in the second half of the nineteenth century, the commercial significance of Beirut was considerably enhanced. Finally, the restoration of political stability under Daud Pasha and his many reforms which aimed at modernizing the country's economy laid the bases for the development of a large-scale international trade.

As early as the beginning of the nineteenth century the opportunities afforded by the commercial facilities of Beirut had attracted a number of enterprising Armenian merchants.⁶¹ Practi-

cally all of these belonged to the Catholic faith; and they not only played a prominent role in the affairs of this community, but through their munificence also provided for its endowment. In 1860, for instance, Hanna Ghukas bequeathed properties to the community; and in later years additional bequests made by several others, notably Antun Bey al-Misri, the customs director from Mersin to Gaza, enabled the community leaders to construct the so-called Suq al-Arman (the Armenian marketplace). The revenue from the rental of these properties amply provided for the management of the community's needs.

Beginning in the 1880's, in particular, an increasingly large number of Armenian merchants and traders began to arrive in Beirut from Asia Minor, Cilicia, Aleppo, Damascus, and elsewhere, attracted by the vast international trade. European manufactured goods, principally from Manchester, flooded the local market. Not unlike other Levantines, the Armenians established mercantile firms at Beirut that were either branches of principal establishments which they operated elsewhere or newly founded central operations with branches in the hinterland. These vast mercantile enterprises handling European and Oriental goods reached as far as India via Aleppo, Baghdad, Trebizond, Tehran, Ispahan, and so forth.

This feverish commercial activity gained momentum with the arrival in the last decades of the nineteenth century of Armenian commission agents from Kayseri, Adana, Marash, Urfa, and Diyarbakir. These and others who arrived in the 1890's imported manufactured goods, principally textiles, from Manchester, Liverpool, and elsewhere, and through their own representatives marketed them in Asia Minor, Iran, and India.⁶² Most of these Armenian traders resided in the Rum Khan at Beirut, where they also had their warehouses. It must be assumed that their business transactions were considerably facilitated by the Armenian officials of the customhouses, not only in Beirut but also in other localities in Syria. The Armenian mercantile community seems to have generally provided mutual assistance to its members in their transactions. Whether they had organized themselves into a guild-type association is not certain; but it is known that in 1893, for instance, they had selected one of their number as an official representative before the customs-directorate of Beirut. In addition to the mercantile community, there were other Armenians

who prospered as artisans and craftsmen, principally as tailors, shoemakers, and carpenters.⁶³

The size of the local community was augmented by students subsequent to the founding at Beirut of the Syrian Protestant and Jesuit colleges (later the American University of Beirut and the Université Saint Joseph, respectively) in the second half of the nineteenth century, and especially by refugees from the Armenian massacres of 1895-96 in Asia Minor and 1909 in Cilicia. A considerable number of Armenians accused or suspected of revolutionary activities against the Ottoman state also found refuge in Mount Lebanon and Beirut as political fugitives. By the outbreak of World War I the Armenian population of the region had increased to some one thousand individuals. In contrast to the community which had settled here prior to 1880, the new arrivals manifested a stronger sense of ethnic solidarity, as evidenced by their founding of several social, philanthropic, educational, and other institutions.⁶⁴

ARMENIANS IN OTTOMAN ADMINISTRATION AND FOREIGN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

Information regarding the role of Armenians as functionaries of the Ottoman administration in historic Syria prior to the nineteenth century is wanting, but details can be given about the later period.

Mention has already been made of the two Armenian governors-general of Lebanon and of other Armenians who served under their administration. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century and until 1915 several Armenians held high positions at Beirut in the postal and telegraph services, the Public Debts Office, and the censorship bureau.⁶⁵

Armenians also contributed significantly to the development of public works in Syria, particularly in the second half of the nineteenth century. For instance, Joseph Khayyat, as the architect of the city of Damascus in the 1870's and then as the architect of the mayoralty of Beirut for eighteen years, is credited with the construction of numerous public buildings and roads; and Emil Khasho, appointed as chief engineer of Lebanon in 1904, initiated the canal and hydraulic works in Lebanon.⁶⁶ The most outstanding figure in these fields of endeavor, however, was

Manuk Manukian, better known as Bishara Muhandiz, who began his distinguished career in the early 1860's as general superintendent during the construction of the Beirut-Damascus highway. For some fifty years he served as chief architect-engineer of the provinces of Damascus and Beirut. In addition to numerous public buildings he built a large number of roads, canals, and bridges in Lebanon, Syria, and Palestine.⁶⁷ Melk'on Suk'iasian achieved considerable prominence in Syria as an agricultural engineer, first as director-general of the bureau of agriculture for the province of Aleppo from 1886 to 1892, and then in the same capacity for the whole of Syria. During his tenure of office he founded two agricultural schools, the Salimiya at Damascus and the Muslimiya at Aleppo.⁶⁸

As early as the 1840's Armenians began to distinguish themselves in the fields of public health and medicine in Syria, as evidenced by Dr. Zohrap's appointment as superintendent of military hospitals.⁶⁹ Dr. Hakob Bey Dawudian, a member of the Imperial Medical Society at Constantinople, served until 1865 as director of public health in Lebanon.⁷⁰ Dr. Paghtasar Melk'onian was a member of the commission charged with checking the spread of an epidemic in 1903; he served as director of the anatomical and histological laboratory of the medical school at the Université Saint Joseph; and during World War I he served as medical officer for the mayoralty and police department at Beirut.⁷¹ The most notable among all Armenian physicians, however, was Dr. John Wortabet who in 1871 was appointed professor of medicine at the Syrian Protestant College of Beirut, a position he held for some seventeen years. He devoted the last twenty years of his life to improving the public health of the Syrian and Lebanese people. For his distinguished services in this field, notably in arresting epidemics, Dr. Wortabet was decorated by the Ottoman government and by Kaiser Wilhelm of Germany and was elected to honorary membership in the Epidemiological Society of London. The Lebanese government, too, honored him by naming one of the streets of Beirut Rue Wortabet. His medical treatises earned him an honorary M.D. degree from Yale University.⁷² Dr. Asatur Altunian founded the Altunian Hospital at Aleppo in 1891. This hospital, with its modern equipment and surgical facilities, an excellent nursing staff supervised by British nurses, and an out-patient clinic, provided first-rate

medical treatment to thousands of Syrians.⁷³ Finally, it should be noted that a total of 232 Armenians graduated from the medical schools of the American University of Beirut and the Université Saint Joseph from their inception until 1918.⁷⁴

In the nineteenth century Armenians played a most important role in the customs administration of Syria. In 1846, Hovakim Aslanian acquired the customs directorate of Beirut, an office which he held for two years.⁷⁵ Three years later the customs administration for the whole of Syria was farmed out to the Constantinopolitan banker Misak' Misak'ian.⁷⁶ In the 1850's another banker from the Ottoman capital, Mkrtich' Jēzairlian, leased the customs directorate of Syria. This financial tycoon, who had large-scale banking and customs enterprises throughout the empire, and whose influential position in governmental circles was largely due to his close friendship with Grand Vizier Reshit Pasha, employed some twenty thousand Armenians.⁷⁷ Jēzairlian was followed by Petros Sēfērian in 1857 as customs director of Syria. According to a contemporary account, under Sēfērian the capricious acts of customs officials against European merchants ceased and cargo ships were given adequate protection.⁷⁸ In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, another Armenian, Antun Bey al-Misri (Msrlian), exercised the customs monopoly over a region extending from Mersin to Gaza.⁷⁹ Most of the officials in the customs administration at Aleppo in the mid-nineteenth century were Armenian.⁸⁰ It should be noted that though a few of the officials mentioned above were natives of the territories in which they served, the majority were dispatched from other parts of the empire, chiefly from Constantinople.

The service of Armenian officials was not confined to the Ottoman administration; many served as officials of various foreign diplomatic and consular services in Syria and Palestine. Some of these attained the positions of consul, vice-consul, or consular agents; others were secretaries, interpreters, or dragomans. The governments which employed Armenians in their diplomatic services included Austria-Hungary, Prussia, the United States, Portugal, Spain, Great Britain, Naples, and Sardinia.⁸¹ These Armenian diplomatic officials, who served primarily at Aleppo, Beirut, Jerusalem, and Jaffa, were all native-born subjects of the Ottoman empire, but many of them later acquired citizenships of the countries which they served. In contrast to these, Prince

Kostandin Kamsarakan, who served for some ten years (1886–1895) as Russian consul for Syria with his residence at Beirut, was a native-born subject of the tsar.⁸² Only one Armenian from Syria, the Lebanese-born Eli Farajallah, distinguished himself in the Ottoman diplomatic service. After graduating from the Catholic College of 'Ayn Turah in Mount Lebanon, he served in various capacities in Constantinople and Bulgaria before his appointment as Ottoman consul-general to England.⁸³

CHAPTER IV

The Cultural Status of the Armenian Communities

THE CHRISTIANIZATION of Armenia and the adoption of a national alphabet, in the fourth and fifth centuries respectively, stand out as the two most important historical factors which determined the essentially religious and national characteristics of Armenian intellectual, literary, and artistic history. This ethnic culture was developed almost exclusively by the clergy in the numerous monastic institutions in historic Armenia, Asia Minor, Cilicia, and elsewhere, and it drew its inspiration from both the East and the West. In the fifth century translations of Greek and Syriac works into Armenian, in addition to the creation of original works, produced an era of literary and intellectual activity which has been aptly described as the Golden Age of Armenian literature.¹

ARMENIAN CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

In its long span of development, Armenian culture experienced several periods of revival and decline. The renaissance that reached its peak in the tenth century was followed by a decline with the onslaught of Seljuk and Mongol invasions of the Armenian homeland and the destruction of numerous institutions of learning. There was a remarkable cultural revival in the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia, which waned with Cilicia's downfall. With some notable exceptions in historic Armenia, a virtual dark age of intellectual life persisted during the entire sixteenth and the first quarter of the seventeenth centuries.

The next renaissance was slow to begin, but once started ad-

vanced at an accelerated pace. The few intellectuals who spearheaded the movement were motivated by a desire to revive the knowledge of the Armenian cultural heritage, and were influenced by the European Enlightenment. The movement began with the restoration of many of the monastic institutions in Armenia in the seventeenth century and the founding of the Catholic Mekhitarist (Mkhit'arian) order at Venice in the beginning of the eighteenth.² Numerous classical manuscripts were copied; textbooks were prepared on grammar, logic, and other subjects; and the translation of foreign texts was again undertaken in earnest.

This monastic rejuvenation was instrumental in the creation of a new literature in the classical language, which fired the religious zeal and patriotism of the Armenian people and raised their national consciousness from the languor into which it had fallen. Nevertheless, this movement in the East and in Europe was still rooted in the past and therefore limited in scope, and it was still out of step with the progressive European Enlightenment. There was an urgent need for an appreciable departure from the prevailing ecclesiastical nature of Armenian society, and for the growth of secularism along European lines. Such a departure is discernible in the first half of the nineteenth century; it grew in intensity and eventually ushered in a radical transformation of Armenian society. This transformation was made possible by an increasingly closer contact with Europe; by the growth and development of the Armenian printing industry, journalism, and the national school system; and most important by the adoption, in the second half of the nineteenth century, of the spoken vernacular as a literary medium. In order to gain a clearer conspectus of the role of each of these multiple factors, it is necessary to trace briefly their individual development.

Armenian printing and publishing³ dates back to the year 1512, when the merchant Hakob Chughayets'i had printed by one of the printers in Venice the first Armenian book. The first Armenian printing establishment was founded by Abgar Dpir at Venice in 1565, but, because of the restrictions imposed by the papacy upon the publication of Armenian liturgical works, was moved to Constantinople in 1567. With one notable exception, all Armenian books published in Europe prior to the establishment of the Mekhitarist printing presses at Venice and Vienna in the last

quarter of the eighteenth century were printed either by the Urbanian College at Rome (1623–1756) or by private printers at Milan, Padua, Rome, Paris, Lvov, and especially at Venice where the firm of Anton Bartoli published more than one hundred Armenian titles between 1695 and 1777. These publications included some scholarly works but were largely liturgical books designed to propagate the Roman faith among the Armenian people. The one exception was at Amsterdam, where an Armenian printing press, founded in 1660, persisted for fifty-seven years free from the restrictions of the papacy.⁴ This establishment, which played a most significant role in the development of Armenian printing, published a considerable number of high-quality editions of Armenian religious, liturgical, and other books, among which the first printing of the classical Bible in 1666 stands out as a remarkable achievement.

Beginning in 1776 and 1789, respectively, the Viennese and Venetian Mekhitarist orders founded first-rate printing establishments, which made substantial contributions to the Armenian cultural renaissance through their publication of hundreds of classical and medieval texts, monographs on Armenological subjects, creative literary works, dictionaries, textbooks, and so forth.⁵

The attempts of Abgar Dpir (1568–1569) and of Eremia Chelebi (1677–1678) to found printing presses at Constantinople were short-lived; it was only after the founding of a printing shop by Grigor Marzuants'i in 1684 that permanent foundations for the industry were laid at the capital. At this turning point two radical changes emerged: henceforward such establishments were founded not by ecclesiastics and merchants but by professionals, and secondly they were characterized by greater permanency as they passed on in the family from one generation to the other. For instance, Grigor's own press lasted for forty years; Astuatsatur Apuch'ekhts'i's, founded in 1700, continued in his family for over one hundred and fifty years; and that of Hovhannēs Miuhēntisian, from 1839 to the First World War. Such professional printers-publishers as Pōghos Arapian and Miuhēntisian, in particular, distinguished themselves as outstanding master designers of refined type faces, and their workshops, which published numerous Armenian books, also trained many who went on to set up their own printing establishments. Both individuals contributed substantially not only to Armenian but also to Turk-

ish printing. Arapian, who designed the so-called *nesih* and *talik* Turkish type faces named Araboghlu after him, was appointed by Sultan Mahmut II as superintendent of the imperial press in 1816. Miuhēntisian founded the first galvanizing, stereotyping, and zincographic workshops in Turkey, and also designed new Turkish type faces and paper currency.

The extension of the parochial school system at the capital and in the provinces and the growth of literacy and journalism made ever increasing demands for new printing presses, particularly beginning in the 1860's. Private printing establishments, which became lucrative business enterprises, rapidly increased in number in Turkey. This in turn stimulated the growth of regular bookstores. Armenian printing presses were also established in Russia, India, and elsewhere as early as the last quarter of the eighteenth century. The distinction of founding the first printing establishment in historic Armenia belongs to the catholicosate of Etchmiadzin. Founded in 1771, it achieved its greatest accomplishments beginning with the incumbency of Catholicos Gēorg IV (1866-1882) when many Armenological texts and studies rolled off its presses.

Armenian journalism⁶ had a slow and sporadic beginning. It began at Madras, India, with Harut'iun Shmawonian's short-lived (1794-1796) monthly *Azdarar*. From 1794 to 1840 only fifteen journals made their appearance, but thereafter there was a steady increase. From 1841 to 1915 some 675 new Armenian periodicals were published throughout the world.⁷ Until 1840 the limited number of periodicals were all short-lived; they were published by clergymen; and, for the most part, they were annuals or almanac-type publications. In contrast, those which appeared between 1840 and 1870 bore the mark of permanency and were generally edited by laymen, who showed greater concern for Armenian public affairs. K. Utujian's *Masis* (1852-1908, Constantinople), M. Khrimian's *Artsui Vaspurakan* (1855-1864, Constantinople-Van), and S. Nazarian's *Hiusisap'ayl* (1858-1864, Moscow) emerged as virtual schools of journalism and played vigorous roles in giving expression and direction to Armenian intellectual, educational, and social aspirations. *Masis* sought to weld the old and new intellectual trends without disturbing the traditional foundations of Armenian society; Khrimian's journal laid emphasis upon Armenian education, patriotism, and national-

ism. *Hiusisap'ayl* advocated ideas that were quite radical and foreign to most Armenians. A bold foe of Russian censorship, Nazarian frequently reflected the progressive tendencies then current in Russian literature and journalism; he waged a bitter fight against the conservatism of the Armenian clergy and advocated liberal reforms in the orientation and structure of the church; he propounded the gradual Europeanization of Armenian education and emphasized the role of literature and the arts as vehicles of social reform.

In the 1870's quality began to replace quantity in journalism, particularly with the appearance of *Mshak* (1872-1920, Tiflis), *P'ordz* (1876-1881, Tiflis), *Arewelian Mamul* (1871-1909, Izmir), and *Hayrenik'* (1870-1896, 1901-1909, Constantinople). Grigor Artsruni, the editor of *Mshak* and one of the best and most colorful publicists in the nineteenth century, crusaded vigorously against the conservative clergy, Russian censorship, the wealthy class, and even the timid intellectuals; he advocated the restriction of the church's role in Armenian society and sought the secularization of the parochial schools. His weekly (later daily) attracted a number of young talented men of letters. In contrast, each issue of A. Hovhannisian's quarterly, *P'ordz*, was a rich collection of learned Armenological studies without reference to the contemporary intellectual battles. The *Arewelian Mamul* of M. Mamurian and *Hayrenik'* of M. Gabamajian, two most influential dailies, concerned themselves more intimately with pressing public affairs and left their indelible imprint on the development of a more mature national consciousness.

Beginning in the 1880's Armenian journalism attained greater maturity. Publicists began to expound the view that learning and ideas imported from the West must be blended and harmonized with the institutions to which the Armenians were closely tied to be most beneficial and effective. They were fearful that secularist ideas might endanger and eventually destroy the traditional church institution. The 1890's witnessed the rise of an intensely nationalistic and revolutionary press, directed at liberating the Armenians of Turkey from Ottoman tyranny; such periodicals appeared at Marseilles, Tiflis, and Geneva. There also appeared a number of journals which devoted themselves almost exclusively to the furtherance of Armenological studies and literature such as the Mekhitarist monthly *Bazmavēp* (Venice), the oldest Arme-

nian periodical in existence today; *Ararat* (1868–1920) of the catholicosate of Etchmiadzin; *Handēs Amsōreay* (1887 to date) of the Mekhitarists of Vienna; *Azgagrakan Handēs* of E. Lalayeants' (1896–1916, Tiflis); Ēminian's *Azgagrakan Zhoghovatsu* (1901–1913, Moscow); and A. Ch'ōpanian's *Anahit* (1898–1911, 1929–1947, Paris).

Since its inception in the fifth century⁸ and throughout the Middle Ages Armenian literature was mainly the work of the clergy and, with the important exception of folk literature, was religious in nature.

Moreover, until about the middle of the nineteenth century the classical (*grabar*) Armenian language had remained the only proper medium of literary endeavors. In its historical development⁹ this language had met with and weathered two alien and serious challenges, namely, the Philhellene language, developed between the sixth and eighth centuries, which was patterned after the grammar, morphology, and syntax of Greek;¹⁰ and the Latinized Armenian developed by Catholic Armenian monks educated in the papal seminaries at Rome from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries.¹¹ In the Middle Ages there also developed, alongside classical Armenian, a vernacular language, Middle Armenian.¹² In course of time, the disparity between the literary and spoken languages became so wide that a reaction against the classical was inevitable. Such a reaction began in the eighteenth century and by about the middle of the following century culminated in the triumph of the modern language as the appropriate literary medium. The classical, however, still persists as the liturgical language of the Armenian church.

Emancipated from bondage to conservatism and static traditionalism, the modern Armenian literature which emerged was less religious in content than what preceded it, for it was largely the work of laymen; moreover, it was essentially national and patriotic in spirit and content. From the 1850's onwards, and particularly in the last decade of the century up to 1915, Armenian literature flourished, and poetry, drama, the novel, satire, and other creative literary genres took giant strides in the hands of talented writers in the Caucasian and western segments of the Armenian population.¹³ The Armenian press played a salubrious role in this development, for many of the periodicals served as an outlet for the young generation of gifted writers. This literary

achievement was not without the influence of contemporary European literature, as evidenced by the fact that many of the works of Russian, French, German, and British authors appeared in Armenian translation.

Traditionally, education among the Armenians had been confined to the clergy, and was carried on in monastic institutions generally at the feet, as it were, of some learned ecclesiastics, or by traveling pedagogues who on occasion also attracted non-clerical students.¹⁴ The transition from this method of instruction to a classroom system occurred toward the latter part of the eighteenth century. The real founder of the modern parochial school system was Patriarch Zak'aria Kaghzuants'i (1773-1781), who established at least seven regular schools in the various Armenian-inhabited quarters of Constantinople.¹⁵

In the early decades of the nineteenth century the initiative in the development of educational facilities was in the main taken by lay Armenians outside of Turkey, namely at Astrakhan, Moscow, Calcutta, Tiflis, Padua, Paris, and Nor Nakhjewan, near Rostov. During the incumbency of Patriarch Step'anos Zak'arian (1831-1839) several new schools were opened at Constantinople, which for the most part were financed by amiras. This renewed effort resulted from increasing contacts with Europe; from the spirit of competition with the Catholic educational institutions which had begun to attract a substantial number of youths belonging to the national church; from the practical necessities of the growing commercial and business world; and from the Ottoman government's own efforts in providing educational facilities.¹⁶

In the 1840's the educational drive was spearheaded principally by young men who had been trained in European schools of higher learning. By the mid-1850's the number of parochial schools in the capital had increased to forty-two.¹⁷ With a view to founding new schools at Constantinople and to coordinating the educational program throughout the empire, the patriarchate organized an educational council in 1853. Nevertheless, the real progress in the provinces had to await the founding of educational and philanthropic societies, whose main objective was to establish schools and to provide free education in Armenian communities. From the 1860's on, the number of such organizations began to increase, particularly under the impact of the new spirit created by the adoption of the Armenian National Constitution. As

the scattered and local efforts of these societies proved insufficient, it was felt that the task of educating the entire Armenian nation required their united and concerted action. In 1880 the three largest groups merged, forming the United Societies under the auspices of the patriarchate, and within a few years their combined efforts provided practically all communities in the provinces with schools and teachers. The patriarchate also succeeded in transforming the theological seminary founded at the monastery of Armash, near Izmit, in 1797 into a first-rate academic institution, particularly under the deanship of M. Ormanian (beginning in 1890) and his successor E. Durian.

The Armenian educational endeavor in the Caucasus and Russia developed independently of the Turkish-Armenian program and under different circumstances. The *polozhenie* (administrative regulations) granted by the tsarist authorities in 1836 to the catholicosate of Etchmiadzin had provided for the establishment of seminaries and parochial schools in all the Armenian bishoprics. With this incentive, the establishment of public institutions of learning was initiated during the incumbency of Catholicos Mat'tēos (1858–1865) and gained great momentum through the concerted efforts of local community trustees. Under Catholicos Gēorg IV (1866–1882) practically all the Armenian communities in the Caucasus and Russia had their own parochial schools.¹⁸

While this educational program was progressing satisfactorily, the Armenians in Russian territories began to experience the effects of tsarist nationalist policies. Contrary to the provisions of the *polozhenie*, an imperial ukase of November 22, 1873, placed all Armenian schools under the direct control of the ministry of education and its superintendents. The Armenian authorities' refusal to accept the terms of the edict, on the grounds that they jeopardized the academic and economic freedom of the parochial schools, culminated in the closure of all these institutions (estimated to total six hundred in the Caucasus) by Governor Galitsin in February 1885. The schools were reopened in September of 1886, but the Russian government continued its restrictive measures, to a large extent because of its suspicions of the activities of Armenian revolutionary groups in the Caucasus. In June of 1903 the Russian authorities put the financial administration of all Armenian ecclesiastical and educational institutions under the control of the state ministries. These measures brought a re-

action from Armenians scattered throughout the world, who lent their moral support to the Armenian ecclesiastical authorities defying the ordinance and sent vigorous protests to the tsar and other European governments. In consequence, the Russian government was finally compelled to rescind its order in 1905 by returning the Armenian properties which it had confiscated. Thereafter the Armenian educational program continued with even greater vigor. In particular, the Georgian Seminary at Etchmiadzin, founded in 1874, developed into an outstanding institution of learning.

THE PATRIARCHATE OF JERUSALEM AND ITS CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

The Seminary in Jerusalem. Since the historic role of the Armenian patriarchate of Jerusalem was in the main confined to the custodianship of the commonly held Holy Places in Jerusalem and its environs and to the protection of the privately owned Armenian possessions in the Holy Land, the institution never distinguished itself as a center of learning and scholarship. Nevertheless, the patriarchate always sought to provide facilities for the educational and intellectual advancement of its young monastics at least sufficient to enable them to perform adequately their ecclesiastical functions.

Not until the first half of the nineteenth century is there any record of a regularly organized theological seminary in Jerusalem. Hitherto the novices or candidates for the clergy were customarily trained "at the feet" of some learned vardapet (doctor of theology). This pedagogue was often a resident monk; frequently, however, the authorities of the see took advantage of some scholar's pilgrimage to Jerusalem and prevailed on him to remain there for a number of years to instruct the younger monks in traditional religious subjects. As a rule, the trainees acquired from him whatever knowledge was deemed essential for the performance of the liturgy and rituals; the more inquisitive candidate generally furthered his education by private study.¹⁹ It was not uncommon for ecclesiastics trained in Constantinople, Asia Minor, the Caucasus, and elsewhere to join the order of St. James at Jerusalem. Conversely, young monks from the Holy

City often journeyed abroad to study under some renowned scholar in an Armenian monastic institution.

The initiator of a regularly constituted theological seminary under the aegis of the patriarchate of Jerusalem was Patriarch Zak'aria Kop'ets'i, who had studied at the seminaries of Etchmiadzin and the Mekhitarist monastery at Venice. He inaugurated the seminary, with some thirty students, in the Armenian monastery of St. George at Ramle in 1843.²⁰ Some eighteen months after its inception the seminary was transferred to a building outside the monastic compound at Jerusalem. The move coincided with the pilgrimage of Murat Pōyajian, a highly renowned pedagogue in the theological seminary of Armash, who was persuaded to assume the offices of dean and principal instructor. In addition to the regular courses of instruction, Pōyajian introduced logic and rhetoric into the curriculum, and under him the seminary began to achieve gradual progress.²¹

Zak'aria's successor, Patriarch Kirakos (1846-1850), exhibited as keen an interest in the seminary's development as his predecessor. His elevation to the patriarchal office, however, coincided with Pōyajian's resignation and the consequent departure of many of the seminarians. These developments underscored more than ever the necessity for devising a more precise educational plan and for constructing an adequate seminary building within the monastery of St. James itself. As a first step Kirakos instructed the see's deputy at Constantinople, Bishop Hovhannēs Zmiurhnats'i, to solicit contributions for the financing of the seminary and to secure a special permit from the Porte for the construction of the projected building. In 1848, in the meantime, Kirakos invited from Izmir the pedagogue Tigran Sawalanians'.²² Unfortunately the Porte's permit, issued after much procrastination, was received in Jerusalem only after the patriarch's death in 1850.²³

Zak'aria's successor, Hovhannēs Zmiurhnats'i, showed little interest in the enterprise. He removed Sawalanians' from his post and replaced him with Simēon Vardapet, a local monk in his dotage, whose death soon afterwards left the seminary without leadership. The patriarch's lack of concern for the seminary was bitterly criticized not only by the local monastics but also by the national authorities in Constantinople. With a view to appeasing his critics, who charged him with antiintellectualism, Hov-

hannēs often reiterated his desire to create a foremost scholastic center at Jerusalem which would attract learned scholars from abroad. He did not, however, take measures to put this avowed plan into effect, nor did he attempt to train enlightened monks through competent pedagogues.²⁴ Only after the construction of a new patriarchal residence and chancery did Hovhannēs concern himself with the seminary, whose building was completed in 1857. But the measures he took to furnish the institution with adequate instructional personnel proved to be ineffectual.²⁵

The election of Esayi as patriarch in 1865, and his solemn pledge to elevate the educational and intellectual standards of the monastic institution in line with the progressivist trends of the age, raised high hopes for the future. In response to his encyclical letters to the bishoprics in the Ottoman empire, the Caucasus, and elsewhere,²⁶ the number of candidates gradually increased; and with the appointment of Garegin Muratian, a Russian-born scholar and pedagogue, as dean, the course offerings were considerably extended. Nevertheless on the whole the institution made little progress.²⁷

An announcement of the seminary's new bylaws published in May 1872²⁸ provides a clear picture of the institution's curriculum, its actual status, and contemplated plans. Its three fundamental objectives were described to be the imparting of knowledge about God, Man, and Nature. The curriculum included courses in the Old and New Testaments; Christian teachings; the history of the church, rituals, and traditions; the canons of the Holy Fathers; and pastoral theology. Instruction in Christian heresies and non-Christian religions, described as being "undeserving of study," was specifically excluded. The second category of courses consisted of offerings in physiology and anthropology; Armenian language and history; general history; political history of Turkey, as well as Turkish and Arabic languages; the history of European and other countries; and French and German languages. The third category consisted of geography, natural history, physics, mathematics, drawing, music, physical education, and gardening.²⁹ It should be noted that except for physiology, anthropology, Arabic, and German, these subjects were all offered at the seminary prior to 1872. The patriarchate's educational council recognized the need for including the study of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin in the curriculum, but the unavailability of qualified teach-

ers prevented their introduction. The total number of seminarians each year was fixed at thirty; and it was an unwritten rule that graduates of the institution would receive ecclesiastical ordination.

Garegin Muratian, who had been ordained and elevated to the rank of bishop, administered the seminary as dean until his departure from Jerusalem in 1876. Until his election in 1884 as chief sacristan of the see, Khapayian served as dean of the institution. The four textbooks which he prepared, patterned after French models, on physical and political geography, natural history, cosmography, and history of the Old Testament,³⁰ were used not only in the seminary itself but also in many Armenian parochial schools in the Ottoman empire.

Both Patriarch Esayi (1865–1885) and his successor Harut'iun Vehapetian (1889–1910) made concerted efforts to elevate the academic standards of the seminary, and to train qualified ecclesiastics for the see and for the communities in Syria and Lebanon. But disorders within the monastic institution, lack of funds, and difficulties stemming from the exacerbation of Turco-Armenian relations stood in the way of the seminary's further progress. The authorities were often impelled to invite instructors from abroad at considerable cost, for few local monastics were qualified to assume teaching responsibilities³¹ and those who were generally sought to further their personal ambitions abroad instead of dedicating themselves to the task of elevating the intellectual standards of their own institution.³²

The seminary's curriculum underwent little change until 1915. During his stay at Jerusalem in 1915–1917 Örmelian, former patriarch of Constantinople, offered courses in philosophy, theology, and scriptural studies, but the plan to provide specialized training was only partially fulfilled. Throughout its entire history, instruction in the history and archaeology of the Holy Land — subjects which were of particular interest to the clergy who served the see — was completely neglected, primarily because of the unavailability of qualified teachers.³³

In general, the institution not only failed to produce theologians or scholars, but also did not maintain a high academic standard. Yet in the main, the monks who graduated from the seminary attained a relatively higher level of educational training than had been the case prior to its establishment. In the sum-

mer of 1917, when the Ottoman government removed the bishops and leading ecclesiastics from Jerusalem to Damascus because of the impending occupation of the Holy City by the British army, the seminary was shut down. It was reopened in 1920, and under the administration of Patriarch Eghishē Dorian and the deanship of Archbishop Babgēn Kiulēsērian entered its second phase of development.

The Parochial Schools in Palestine, Damascus, Beirut, and Latakia. The patriarchate of Jerusalem also assumed the responsibility of establishing and maintaining parochial schools for the Armenian secular communities in Palestine, as well as in Syria and Lebanon which were under its administrative jurisdiction. These institutions pursued a twofold objective: to provide the children of these widely scattered communities with at least an elementary education free of charge, and to ensure that the children of a substantial number of Arabic-speaking Armenians acquired equal fluency in their native tongue.

At Jerusalem the parochial school system consisted of three institutions: a coeducational kindergarten and two elementary schools, one for boys and another for girls. The boys' school, called Mesropian, founded during the incumbency of Patriarch Kirakos (1846-1850), began by offering only instruction in the Armenian language but later added courses in Arabic language and literature.³⁴ Its steady progress is evidenced by the fact that in the 1860's the school offered Armenian, French, Turkish, and Arabic languages, Armenian history and religion, arithmetic, geography, rhetoric, and logic, as well as bookkeeping in both Arabic and Armenian.³⁵ The Gayanian school for girls was founded in 1862 through the munificence of Karapet Shuldovian, a wealthy pilgrim from Nor Nakhjewan.³⁶ The principal courses of instruction were Armenian language, arithmetic, and history.³⁷ In the 1860's embroidery and knitting became an important part of its curriculum. This new offering brought a doubling of the student body; even a number of Muslim families sent their daughters to acquire proficiency in this practical art.³⁸

The kindergarten and the two elementary schools were under the general supervision of the patriarchate's director-general of education. In the main their curricula met the standards set up by the central educational council of the patriarchate at Constantinople. The instructional staff included teachers from the

see's seminary and female instructors invited from Constantinople, Izmir, and elsewhere. The native and predominantly Arabic-speaking Armenian parents preferred, however, to send their children to local foreign schools. Only commencing in the last decades of the nineteenth century did they become more appreciative of the see's efforts, as attested by the marked increase in the number of pupils attending the parochial schools.³⁹

The patriarchate also maintained elementary schools at Bethlehem and Jaffa. According to Cuinet the Bethlehem school had twenty-three pupils in 1896.⁴⁰ Sometime later, however, the school was closed because of the very small size of the local community and because of the preference of some parents to have their children educated in foreign schools.⁴¹ The coeducational elementary school at Jaffa was founded in 1867.⁴² In 1879 a visiting layman, Sahak Vanets'i, donated fifty Ottoman liras to the local monastery, and the authorities of the patriarchate used the sum toward the construction of a separate school building.⁴³ Instruction in this school, which was maintained by the local monastery, was offered generally by the resident monks.⁴⁴

The patriarchate made similar arrangements for the education of Armenian children in the communities of Damascus, Beirut, and Latakia. These schools were as a rule administered by the resident prelates appointed by the see of Jerusalem, assisted by local elected lay trustees. It was usually the trustees' responsibility to raise funds to support the schools.⁴⁵

The elementary school at Damascus was established in 1849, when on a visit to the city in that year, the customs director of Greater Syria, Gēorg Misak'ian, founded the Nersisian Society. After making a substantial monetary contribution to it he persuaded other leading members of the community to follow his example. Under the supervision of this society he founded a regular elementary school.⁴⁶ Toward the end of the century, the school consisted of two divisions, one for boys and one for girls, with a total of 310 pupils.⁴⁷

The elementary parochial school at Beirut was established in 1859, by an irade of the Ottoman government, in the local Armenian monastery of St. Nshan; ⁴⁸ kindergarten was added in the early 1890's. Both schools were under the direct supervision of the community's prelates dispatched from Jerusalem. The arrival of a sizable number of refugees from Asia Minor subsequent to

the Turkish pogroms of 1895–96 necessitated the formation of a lay board of trustees to administer the schools consonant with the new demands of the community. Although the teaching staff was changed frequently, these educational institutions functioned without interruption until 1915, when the monastery and schools were first confiscated and then demolished by the local Turkish government.⁴⁹ Immediately after the armistice, however, the leaders of the national and Catholic communities established a single school under the supervision of a joint board of trustees. This establishment functioned under the new arrangement until 1921, when the two communities could afford to open separate schools.⁵⁰

Very little is known about the schools belonging to the Armenian community of Latakia, which had for many centuries been under the direct administrative authority of the patriarchate of Jerusalem. According to Cuinet the community of the sanjak of Latakia had a total of eight schools, two secondary schools, one boarding school for girls, three elementary schools for boys and two elementary schools for girls, with an aggregate of 530 pupils.⁵¹

The Printing Press and Siōn Monthly. The only Armenian printing press and publishing establishment founded in the entire Syrian region prior to World War I belonged to the patriarchate of Jerusalem.⁵² Its founder was the monk Zak'aria Kop'ets'i who, as a student at Etchmiadzin and particularly at the Mekhitarist monastery in Venice, had become convinced of the cultural importance of endowing the see of Jerusalem with such facilities. The printing press was inaugurated in 1833 with the equipment which Zak'aria had secured through the munificence of the merchant Petros Yusufian of Trieste and the notable Alik'san Eghiazarian of Egypt. During the eight years preceding the election of Zak'aria as patriarch (1840–1846) this press published a total of fifteen books, and during his incumbency six more works came to light.

During the reign of Patriarch Esayi (1865–1885), the printing press achieved its most noteworthy progress. The equipment was to a large extent modernized; the plant was reorganized, with separate departments for casting type faces, for typesetting, and for printing; the bindery was improved; and the establishment's book-selling facilities were substantially augmented. It also has the distinction of being the first Armenian press to endow its plant

with galvanoplastic and color-printing facilities.⁵³ From the standpoint of publications the years 1867–1875 were the most productive as attested by the printing of 117 titles. In contrast, from 1876–1885 only 48 books of lesser value were published. This can be attributed largely to the deterioration of the patriarchate's fiscal administration.

The tenure of Patriarch Harut'iun Vehapetian (1889–1910) coincided with the Ottoman government's progressively more stringent censorship laws. Distribution and sale in the empire of several books published at Jerusalem were prohibited. In addition the local Turkish authorities forbade the printing of books outside of a list of authorized ecclesiastical works and textbooks. As a result, during the patriarch's incumbency only 73 noncontroversial titles were published. The Turkish Constitution of 1908 guaranteed freedom of the press, but the institution's publishing efforts in this period were substantially curtailed by the grave dissensions within the monastic order of St. James.

Be that as it may, as late as 1915 the printing press continued to occupy an important position among Armenian ecclesiastical institutions possessing publishing establishments, not only because of its physical plant and the quality of its printing but especially as the publisher of unique works. Its principal objective was the publication of Armenian materials, but it also printed booklets and pamphlets in French, Turkish, and Arabic, as well as materials commissioned by the various branches of the local Turkish government. As an integral part of an institution whose operations depended largely upon public support, the printing press of Jerusalem had its share of private donors whose financial munificence made possible the purchase of machinery and equipment and the publication of many special books.⁵⁴

In 1915 Mesrop Nshanian, director of the press, was summoned to court to face the bizarre charge that the patriarchate had been operating the establishment without a permit from the district director of education. Despite the fact that it had existed since 1833 with a permit from the Porte, the court ruled against the press. It declared that the original permit merely allowed the erection of a building for the printing press without sanctioning its operation. It therefore ordered the closure of the establishment, a fine of 50 liras, and the imprisonment of the director. When the local court of appeals upheld the verdict, the patri-

archate brought litigation before a higher court at Constantinople. Before this court's verdict was pronounced, however, Jerusalem was occupied by the British forces under General Allenby. The printing press remained closed from 1915 to 1925; with the advent of the British mandatory administration it entered into its second phase of development.

During its eighty-two-year operation (1833–1915) this press published some four hundred Armenian titles. An examination of these publications shows that its most important contribution lay in multiple editions of practically the entire corpus of the ritualistic, liturgical, and ecclesiastical books of the Armenian church. These included a number which appeared in print for the first time, and many of them bore the stamp of greater authenticity because they were based upon more ancient texts available in the rich manuscript collection of the patriarchate. Even when the most stringent censorship laws were in force, the institution was never barred from printing these books, which, because of their prohibitive printing costs and limited sale, were seldom published by private commercial printing firms. The press's second contribution was its publication, in some cases for the first time, of a number of ancient and medieval classical Armenian texts, as well as Armenian translations of certain Greek works, from the patriarchate's manuscript holdings.⁵⁵ Albeit these publications were limited in number, especially in comparison to the large fund of available texts, they were nevertheless of considerable value to Armenological studies.

The press also published some one hundred and fifty original scholarly studies, historical and religious books, creative literary works, guidebooks on the Holy Places and prayerbooks for pilgrims, and various textbooks. Mention should also be made of the publication, from 1867 to 1915, of an annual religious calendar, which supplied pertinent canonical information.

The see of Jerusalem also published an official organ, the monthly *Siōn*, from 1866 to 1877. The only Armenian periodical published in Syria before World War I, this journal was edited successively by Tigran Sawalanians', Garegin Muratian, and deacon Gabriēl Khapayian.⁵⁶ Sawalanians' sought to transform the publication into a learned, scholarly journal of Armenian studies, with separate sections devoted to historical, literary, and religious subjects. His publication of hitherto unknown texts of

Armenian manuscripts, however, would have been of far greater value if he had utilized more fully the rich resources that were available to him. Under the editorship of his successors, this section was completely abandoned, and less space was devoted to historical, scholarly, and scientific subjects; in contrast, heavy emphasis was laid upon religious, ethical, and chronographic subjects. The publication of essays and scholarly efforts of the semi-narians seriously compromised the quality of the journal. Despite these obvious shortcomings, however, the monthly *Siōn* played its role, along with the *Ararat* of Etchmiadzin, *Hoys* of Armash, and *Artsui Vaspurakan* of Khrimian, in propagating the spirit and positions of the Armenian national church.

In summing up the literary and cultural endeavors of the patriarchate one must conclude that its accomplishments were limited. It should be noted, however, that its primary task was the protection of the Armenian possessions in the Holy Places. Moreover, the population under its jurisdiction was limited in number and included a substantial number of Armenians who were Arabic-speaking. Although the institution of the pilgrimage gave the see a position of universality, its resources were not sufficient to keep pace with the phenomenal growth of publishing and creative achievements in the larger centers of the Armenian dispersion. It is to the credit of the patriarchate that it could under these circumstances maintain its theological seminary and parochial schools and support an outstanding press even under the most restrictive and prohibitive Ottoman censorship laws.

THE EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN ALEPPO AND NORTHWESTERN SYRIA

Prior to and particularly after the fall of the kingdom of Cilicia most of the monastic institutions in the region, the principal centers of cultural and intellectual life, either were completely destroyed or lost their former splendor. As early as the mid-fourteenth century a Dasatun (scriptorium), somewhat primitive in facilities and organization, had been established at Aleppo to meet the immediate literary needs of the local Armenian community. With the removal in 1441 of the Armenian pontificate from the former Cilician capital of Sis to Etchmiadzin, Aleppo emerged as the second most important bishopric of the Cilician

see. This position of pre-eminence was further enhanced by the development of the Dasatun as the cultural, intellectual, and artistic center of the Aleppine community.⁵⁷

In contrast to other similar establishments in Armenia, Cilicia, Asia Minor, and elsewhere, the Dasatun was not in the strictest sense of the term a monastic institution, in which monks devoted themselves exclusively to religious and intellectual pursuits. Particularly in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Dasatun developed into a highly organized scriptorium. Under the guidance of Cilician catholicoses, who frequently resided at Aleppo, learned bishops and vardapets, and local *k'ahanas* (married priests), the art of calligraphy and the illumination of liturgical, canonical, and other religious manuscripts flourished. Master calligraphers and artists, many of whom were invited or attracted from abroad, copied and illuminated numerous manuscripts, a substantial number of which can be found in libraries and museums throughout the world. The Dasatun also had facilities for training apprentices; special workshops for the manufacturing of parchment and paper, ink and pigment; and a separate department which specialized in the artistic binding of manuscripts. This activity was made possible primarily through the munificence and patronage of local magnates. An examination of the institution's output, however, reveals two significant factors: its original contribution to Armenian literature was limited, and its artistic achievements never equaled the degree of excellence attained by a number of other Armenian schools of miniature painting in Cilicia and Armenia.⁵⁸ The Aleppine scriptorium began to decline after the seventeenth century, although the tradition of copying Armenian liturgical books continued even after the popularization of printing.

Beginning in the seventeenth century a virtual seminary developed at the Dasatun. Candidates for the Armenian clergy studied here under certain learned Cilician catholicoses, bishops, and vardapets. In its heyday the institution's instructional program, confined for the most part to ecclesiastical studies, was quite extensive.⁵⁹ Nevertheless, it would be erroneous to suggest that this educational activity was marked by any degree of permanency or regular organization; except in rare instances the traditional system of candidates studying "at the feet" of some vardapet who chanced to be there remained the general practice.

It has been claimed that as an adjunct to the Dasatun the

bishopric of Aleppo maintained a *dpraturun* (school or college), presumably for the education of the children of the secular community.⁶⁰ There is, however, no evidence of the existence of such an institution; moreover, the system of public-parochial education at Aleppo is a nineteenth-century development. It seems more logical to assume that in addition to clerical candidates laymen as well might have been permitted to benefit from the educational facilities at the scriptorium.

The task of providing an Armenian education for Arabic-speaking as well as Armenian-speaking children presented many problems. The exact date of the origin of the parochial system is uncertain, but its development in the nineteenth century can be traced.⁶¹ The earliest reference to the existence of an elementary school for boys is in 1841. The school, which was adjacent to the church of St. K'arhasnits', offered instruction in Armenian and Arabic languages and in music.

In 1846 a group of individuals under the leadership of the priest Tēr Gēorg founded an organization named Reubenian Miut'ian, which aimed principally at fostering the use of the Armenian vernacular in the Arabic-speaking community. In order to achieve its objectives, the society launched a fund-raising drive not only locally, but also at the capital where it had official representatives.⁶² Thanks to the efforts of the organization and Tēr Gēorg the local school began to manifest gradual progress in the teaching of the Armenian language and other subjects.⁶³

In 1853 a kindergarten was added, and the boys' school was rebuilt nearby. Some years later a special elementary school for girls was founded, an achievement which must be credited to the efforts of the progressive Aleppine magnate Hovhannēs K'iurk'jianōf. In the 1860's he was instrumental in the founding of an Armenian bookstore and of a library designed to encourage the reading of Armenian literature.⁶⁴

A more concerted effort in the field of education at Aleppo had to await the organization of the executive and administrative bodies in accordance with the terms of the Armenian National Constitution. On the national level the millet's educational policy and program were directed by the educational council of the patriarchate of Constantinople. Complying with the directives of Patriarch Nersēs Varzhapetian, in 1876 the prelate of the bishopric of Aleppo, Hakob Aslanian, reorganized the boys' and

girls' schools. He staffed them with more qualified teaching personnel and substantially extended the schools' curricula. These establishments were placed under the administrative jurisdiction of the bishopric's civil council, in whose behalf two leading laymen acted as trustees.

The arrival of a large number of Armenian refugees from Asia Minor subsequent to the pogroms of 1895-96 rendered the educational facilities at Aleppo inadequate. The proceeds from a fund-raising campaign conducted in 1897 enabled the community to construct a larger school building, with separate sections for boys and girls. Under the direction of Iskēntēr Garajian the schools' board of trustees initiated certain reforms, including charging tuition fees and increasing the educational budget. This in turn enabled the institution to augment its teaching staff. Garajian was also instrumental in the founding of two alumni associations.⁶⁵ According to a census taken for the academic year 1901-02 the two schools had a total student body of 687 pupils who were instructed by twelve men and six women teachers.⁶⁶

Despite their generally prosperous economy, the Armenians of Aleppo failed to develop a higher institution of learning, and their two elementary schools seldom attained the minimal required academic standards. The Aleppine Armenians in general manifested little interest in education. The meager revenues of the bishopric never permitted a budget sufficient for the improvement of the schools' facilities. On the other hand the feeling persisted that a national school should by definition be tuition-free. Frequently the tendency to economize compelled the appointment of inadequately trained principals and teachers. And frequent changes in the teaching and directorial personnel resulted in a lack of continuity and stability in the program. Most important of all, the inadequacy of these schools impelled a substantial number of parents to send their children to local foreign institutions, notably the Franciscan and German. This was especially true of the Arabic-speaking segment of the Armenian community.

The influx of a large number of refugees from Cilicia and Asia Minor after World War I produced a marked change in the composition of the Aleppine Armenian community, and the vastly increased demands for educational facilities gradually resulted in the establishment of a network of new schools on the elementary and secondary levels.

The development of the Armenian parochial school system in the northwestern regions of the vilayet of Aleppo can also be traced to the second half of the nineteenth century. In contrast to the Aleppine community the rural Armenians of this region could scarcely eke out the necessities of life. What little education was offered to Armenian boys was confined to irregular instruction by village priests or by artisans and craftsmen to whom they were apprenticed. In either event the instruction was limited to a knowledge of reading and writing.

Even as late as 1867 only a handful of these communities had any educational facilities. Through the efforts of the ecclesiastic Dawit' Tēr-Dawt'iants' four of the communities were endowed with new schools and three existing schools were reorganized. Sixteen other communities, however, remained without educational resources. The ecclesiastic's memorandum to the prelate of Aleppo emphasized that unless the authorities of the bishopric provided them with financial assistance and instructors these communities would succumb to the proselytizing endeavors of the Catholic and Protestant missionaries.⁶⁷ The enticements offered by missionary schools accentuated the urgency of establishing schools under the aegis of the national church. Under the direction of the central educational council at Constantinople, and through the financial assistance offered by the various educational and philanthropic societies of the millet and the cooperation of the bishopric of Aleppo and the local rural parishes, these isolated communities were in due course endowed with their own kindergartens and coeducational elementary parochial schools. In the academic year 1901-02 the prelacy of Antioch alone had a total of ten elementary schools, each under the supervision of one teacher, with an enrollment of 440 boys and 47 girls. These establishments had a total monthly budget of 1520 piasters, most of which was contributed by philanthropic societies and the balance by local parishioners. Ten other village communities in the same bishopric, however, were still without schools.⁶⁸

The first school at Kasab was founded in 1849,⁶⁹ but it was only in 1882 that the local authorities reorganized it as a permanent educational institution. The academic standard of the school was raised in 1905 under the supervision of the United Societies. Between the years 1890 and 1910 the communities in the immediate vicinity of Kasab, whose educational needs had hitherto

been totally neglected, were provided with eight elementary schools. It is estimated that in 1910 the schools in this region offered instruction to some 1100 boys and girls. In addition some forty students had gone abroad to receive their secondary and higher education. In that same year a group of individuals representing the national, Catholic, and Protestant communities founded at Kasab a society named Usumnasirats' Miut'iun, which sought to concert the elementary educational efforts of the three groups and avoid meaningless competition and duplication. The society also endeavored to establish a nondenominational secondary school. Through financial contributions of the society's branches in the United States, as well as the funds raised locally, the society purchased a farm on the outskirts of Kasab as an investment and a plot of land in the town to construct a school building. The deportations of the population during World War I and the loss of the Armenian communities' assets, however, prevented the completion of the project until 1924.⁷⁰

FOREIGN INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER LEARNING

The Syrian Protestant College, founded by American missionaries in 1866 and later constituted into the American University of Beirut,⁷¹ and the Jesuit seminary established in 1846 at Ghazir, which after being transferred to Beirut in 1875 became the nucleus of the Université Saint Joseph,⁷² attracted Armenian students from Asia Minor, Cilicia, and Greater Syria as early as the 1880's. The first Armenian graduate from the American University received his B.A. degree in 1885; from then on the number of Armenian graduates from this institution increased at a rapid pace. From 1885 to 1918 the aggregate number of graduates was 226, primarily from the schools of medicine, pharmacy, and nursing.⁷³ Eighty-nine Armenians graduated from the Université Saint Joseph during the years 1881-1915, principally from the schools of medicine, pharmacy, and theology.⁷⁴ As these figures indicate, the majority of the Armenian graduates from both institutions were attracted to the professions rather than the humanities or social sciences. This can be explained by the fact that, since the instruction in American higher institutions of learning in Asia Minor was limited to the humanities and social sciences, the students in this area were compelled to travel abroad to re-

ceive training in the professions. Indeed, many an Armenian student had already attended a liberal arts college in Asia Minor before enrolling in one of the schools of the American University or Saint Joseph. The number of the Armenian students in these two institutions increased rapidly until the outbreak of World War I, when practically all of those in the schools of medicine and pharmacy were enlisted in the Turkish army to serve in the medical corps.⁷⁵

Sultan Abdul-Hamid's suspicions of the Armenians of the empire and in particular the pogroms in Asia Minor in 1895-96 had inspired the university students at Beirut with the ideals of freedom and nationalism, as well as with intense opposition to Turkish tyranny and oppression. During summer vacations these students went back to their native provinces and preached revolutionary and patriotic ideas among their people. On the other hand, revolutionary organizers visited Beirut as well, where they found the students already imbued with nationalistic convictions. This was especially true among the students of the American University, who in the early 1900's had organized themselves into a secret society. The authorities of the university, apprehensive of political complications, had tried to discourage the formation of such a group under any name or guise. It was only in December of 1908, that is, after the promulgation of the Turkish Constitution, that they officially approved the formation of the Armenian Students' Union of the American University of Beirut. The objectives of this group were to foster the Armenian language and literature among its members; to play a role in the educational development of the Armenian people; and to provide financial assistance to fellow students. Within a short time the union emerged as the cultural nucleus of the Armenian community of Beirut and helped keep alive its ethnic and national consciousness. In consequence of the outbreak of war and the Turkish pogroms, however, the organization was compelled to cease its operations from May 1915 until February 1919. Moreover, because of their alleged revolutionary content, a substantial portion of the Armenian books in the university library was destroyed by order of the local Turkish government.⁷⁶

Beginning in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, a number of Armenians also distinguished themselves as members of faculties of various institutions of higher learning. These in-

cluded not only the American University,⁷⁷ but also colleges sponsored and operated by the government. Special mention might be made of Eruand Garagashian who in 1892 was appointed by the Ottoman ministry of education as deputy-director of the Government Lycée at Beirut. In 1909 he was elevated to the office of director of the same institution, but was removed from office on suspicions of political disloyalty when the Lycée was transferred to Damascus in 1915. After the armistice, however, the French mandatory authorities appointed him deputy-director in the ministry of interior, where he served until his death in 1922.⁷⁸ From 1908 to 1911 Eruand Zōrian served in the capacity of principal of the Muslim College at Beirut.⁷⁹

CHAPTER V

The Historical Evolution of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem

THROUGHOUT THE LONG history of the Armenian communities in Syria the patriarchate of Jerusalem has always been distinguished as the single most important institution. Its position of pre-eminence among the various sees of the Armenian church stemmed, first, from its unique association with the dominical sanctuaries in the Holy City and its custodianship, with the other Christian communities, of the shrines; secondly, from its control of a sizable number of privately owned monasteries and churches in the Holy Land and neighboring countries; and, thirdly, from the great influence which the see exercised over the large segment of the Armenian communities in Syria and even beyond which were under its direct administrative jurisdiction.

THE ORIGINS OF THE ARMENIAN PATRIARCHATE OF JERUSALEM

Though historically unproved, it is a generally accepted tradition that subsequent to the Ascension of Christ the apostles assembled at Jerusalem and elected James the Younger as first "bishop" and conferred upon him the episcopal ordination.¹ It is believed that he established his seat at his own residence on Mount Zion, which is thought to have been located on the present site of the Armenian cathedral of St. James.² According to Armenian tradition, after the destruction of the monastery in which the body of the martyred apostle James the Younger was originally buried, his relics were removed to the cathedral of St. James and placed on the spot where the principal altar now

stands.³ This cathedral is also believed to be the site on which the head of the apostle James the Great, brother of John the Evangelist, was interred. These traditions are usually adduced to underscore the Armenian institution's historic associations with the two apostles, whose relics they have jealously guarded for many centuries.

However, this does not fully explain the origin of the Armenian see of Jerusalem. In the earliest Christian centuries the ecclesiastical affairs of the new faith were supervised by duly chosen regional bishops, whose authority was recognized by all Christians within his jurisdictional bounds regardless of race or language. In the course of time five of these regional bishoprics, Alexandria, Antioch, Rome, Constantinople, and Jerusalem, were elevated to the dignity of patriarchates, each enjoying prerogatives within its designated sphere, but still within the framework of the one Universal Church of Christ. The various heretical movements and the rivalries among these hierarchical sees, however, eventually disrupted the unity of the Universal Church. With the doctrinal disputes brought about by the Christological decisions of the Council of Chalcedon in 451 this disunity developed into a schism.

It is important to note that the Church of Jerusalem did not immediately align itself with the creed of this council, and the schism between the monophysites and dyophysites did not occur there until about the middle of the sixth century, even though the Armenian church synod held at Dwin in 506 categorically rejected the dyophysite Christology of Chalcedon. It was only the persecution of monophysite Christians by the Byzantine Emperor Justinian I and the Chalcedonian Greek patriarch of Jerusalem that caused the Armenian clergy of the Holy Land to sever their ecclesiastical ties with the hierarchy of Jerusalem. Many monophysite clergy abandoned their monasteries at Jerusalem and sought refuge in other regions of the Holy Land and in neighboring countries. Those who remained formed an Armenian see independent of the Greek. Henceforward, the see of Jerusalem was split into the Greek patriarchate exercising jurisdiction over the dyophysite Christians regardless of nationality or language, and the Armenian hierarchy having authority over the monophysite communities, notably the Jacobite Syrian, Coptic, and Abyssinian.

The roster of Armenian patriarchs of Jerusalem, as compiled by Mkrtich' Aghawnuni,⁴ begins with the reign of Abraham who,

upon the Arab conquest of Jerusalem in 638, allegedly received a charter from the Caliph Umar guaranteeing the integrity of the Armenian possessions in the Holy Land and recognizing him as the spiritual leader not only of the Armenian community but also of the other monophysite Christian communities. We have no information on the Armenian incumbents before Abraham.

Caliph Umar's apocryphal charter referred to Bishop Abraham as *batrak* (patriarch), a title which the Muslim Arabs customarily used in reference to the principal Christian ecclesiastical leaders of their subject peoples. From the standpoint of canon law, however, the honorific title of patriarch denoted an administrative rather than an ecclesiastical rank in the hierarchical system of the Armenian church. As a matter of fact, not for a long time to come were the incumbents of the see of Jerusalem designated as such, a phenomenon which Örmanian attributes to the institution's desire not to appear to have established a hierarchy independent of the supreme pontificate of the Armenian church.⁵ In practically all the historical documents the titles *arhajnord* (prelate), *hayrapet* (pontiff), or simply *episkopos* (bishop) are used. Nevertheless, for all practical purposes, the role and function of these ecclesiastical leaders was that of a patriarch, although their authority stemmed from their position as deputies of the Armenian pontificate. It is clear that in consequence of the split within the Church of Jerusalem a second Armenian hierarchy had come into being, albeit within the framework of a single ecclesiastical institution.

With the Arab conquest of Jerusalem, the Armenian see of the Holy City attained a stature which perhaps equaled the Greek patriarchate, whose association with the Byzantine empire rendered it suspect in the eyes of the conquerors. Its position was further enhanced under the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem (1099–1187), and especially under Saladin who, as an avowed enemy of the Latins and ever suspicious of the Greeks, found it expedient to endow the Armenians of the Holy Land with greater privileges. Moreover, the institution enjoyed, particularly in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the active interest of the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia whose royal family and princes bestowed on it munificent gifts.

Subsequent to the transfer of the supreme pontificate to Cilicia and until the beginning of the fourteenth century, the see of Jeru-

salem came into closer contact with the pontificate, which in spiritual and even administrative matters took a more direct part in its affairs. The increasingly strong pro-Latin tendencies manifested by the Cilician royal family and subservient catholicoses, however, began to have a disruptive influence. Obviously dictated by political and military expediency, these efforts had the effect of bringing the Armenian church under papal control. The official Latinophile policy culminated in the adoption by the church synod, held at Sis in 1307, of a number of canons and rites which ran counter to the traditional tenets and practices of the Armenian church. Attempts to have these decisions implemented by the clergy beyond the limits of Cilicia met with the determined opposition of traditionalists both in the Armenian provinces and in the Holy Land.⁶

In contrast to the political and ecclesiastical authorities in Cilicia, the Armenian see of Jerusalem always remained the bastion of Armenian orthodoxy. Among other reasons, this can be explained by the fact that, unlike in Cilicia, the Armenians at Jerusalem did not, and had no cause to, entertain ideas of protecting political interests through European assistance.⁷ When the Cilician authorities sought to compel the see of Jerusalem to adopt and implement the decisions of the synod of 1307 the incumbent Bishop Sargis and the Jerusalem clergy not only categorically refused to conform, but in the year 1311 severed their ties with the pontificate at Sis.⁸ With a view to enhancing his position Sargis also secured an edict from Sultan Nasr Muhammad of Egypt which recognized him as the independent patriarch and religious leader not only of the Armenian communities within the domains of the Egyptian sultanate but also of the other eastern Christians who were in communion with the Armenian church. In consequence of this the authority of the see was considerably extended, and its incumbent Sargis now began to employ freely the title of patriarch.⁹

Historians of the Armenian see of Jerusalem generally assert that this was the origin of the patriarchate, which after gradually entrenching itself became an integral part of the hierarchical structure of the Armenian church. This view is shared by Öрманian, who, however, qualifies the statement by affirming that in practice this status had been an established fact since the time of Caliph Umar I.¹⁰ From the standpoint of the official use of

the title patriarch the argument seems to be largely valid, although many of the successors of Bishop Sargis neither employed nor were referred to by that title. In our view, the patriarchate or episcopate of Jerusalem originated in the second half of the sixth century with the separation of the Armenian ecclesiastics from the authority of the Chalcedonian Greek patriarch and with the establishment of a distinct episcopal hierarchy. If this assertion is valid then the title of the officeholder assumes a secondary importance.

The significance of Bishop Sargis' new role and title rests on the fact of its official recognition by the ruling political authority and the concomitant extension of his stature and jurisdiction. It is also important to note that Sargis' action was not a dissidence in the same sense that the evolution of the rival catholicosate of Aght'amar had been.¹¹ Unlike the founder of the see of Aght'amar, Sargis did not assume the title of catholicos; nor did he presume to infringe upon the catholicosal prerogative of consecrating bishops.¹² On the contrary, the bishops of Jerusalem continued to be ordained by the catholicos at Sis until the see of Jerusalem came under the jurisdiction of the catholicosate of Etchmiadzin in the first half of the fifteenth century. It was from among these bishops who had received their ordination at Sis that the patriarchs of Jerusalem were chosen.

Significantly, the action of Sargis did not meet with the opposition of Catholicos Kostandin III and his synod. This indicates either the synod's tacit approval or its inability to act otherwise. The first supposition seems to be more probable, since the ecclesiastical authorities in Cilicia did not break off their relations with those constituencies in Armenia and Asia Minor which had evidenced firm opposition to the Latin canons adopted by the synod. Although they were compelled to relinquish their prerogative of exercising direct control over the internal administration of these bishoprics, they nevertheless were content to retain their ties through the instrumentality of the catholicos who continued to ordain bishops and bless the holy chrism.¹³

Thus, the *de facto* patriarchate of Jerusalem was now officially recognized by the Armenian church authorities as a separate but integral part of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. It functioned within the bounds of the sultanate of Egypt, and the election of its patriarchs was subject to confirmation by the caliph or

sultan. By the time of the Ottoman conquest of the Holy Land in the beginning of the sixteenth century the jurisdiction of the patriarchate had been extended to include all the bishoprics and constituencies of the Egyptian dominions.

The history of the patriarchate of Jerusalem in terms of its relations with the other hierarchical sees of the Armenian church entered a new phase in consequence of the transfer of the supreme pontificate from Sis to Etchmiadzin in 1441, the revival of the hierarchy at Sis in 1446 as a regional catholicosate, and the establishment by the Ottoman Sultan Mehmet II of the Armenian patriarchate of Constantinople in 1461. As a result of these developments, the see of Etchmiadzin, whose incumbent was in the direct line of succession to the hierarchy founded by the apostles Thaddeus and Bartholomew, and who also came to acquire the title of Supreme Patriarch and Catholicos of All Armenians, occupied the pre-eminent spiritual position within the Armenian church. Under the Ottoman millet system the patriarch of Constantinople, as the recognized ecclesiastical and civil leader of the empire's Armenian community as a whole, enjoyed juridical and administrative precedence over the catholicosates of Aght'amar and Cilicia¹⁴ and the patriarchate of Jerusalem. Since beginning in the seventeenth century the seat of the catholicosate of Etchmiadzin was located in the territories first of Persia and then (after 1828) tsarist Russia, the patriarch of Constantinople also functioned as the *vekil* (deputy) of the Mother See in its relations with the communicants of the Armenian church in the Ottoman empire.¹⁵

Despite the official split in 1311, the patriarchate of Jerusalem remained within the framework of the see of Sis until 1441, that is, so long as the hierarchy at Sis represented the supreme pontificate of the Armenian church. With the pontificate's transfer in that year the see of Jerusalem recognized the supreme spiritual authority of Etchmiadzin. It is equally important to note that in consequence of the pre-eminent position accorded to the patriarchate of Constantinople under the Ottoman millet system, the patriarch in the capital, in his dual capacity of *millet bashi* and deputy of Etchmiadzin, acted as the intermediary between the pontificate and the see of Jerusalem. Nonetheless, because of its custodianship of the Holy Places the patriarchate of Jerusalem continued to have a uniquely prominent position in the eyes of the Armenian people as a whole — second in importance, from

the spiritual standpoint, only to the apostolic see of Etchmiadzin.

The proximity of the revived catholicosate of Cilicia to Jerusalem was instrumental in the establishment of a special relationship between the two hierarchical sees. The centuries-long rivalry between the catholicosates of Etchmiadzin and Cilicia, and Cilicia's periodic wranglings with the patriarchate of Constantinople over jurisdictional matters, did not involve the see of Jerusalem. Bagbēn Kiulēsērian rightly asserts, with ample substantiation, that on numerous occasions the Cilician catholicoses rendered most valuable assistance to the patriarchate of Jerusalem, especially in the alleviation of periodic financial crises.

Kiulēsērian errs, however, in his assertion that this active concern and assistance stemmed from the fact that Jerusalem always remained a constituency of Cilicia.¹⁶ It is true that a number of incumbents of the Cilician see vainly sought to assert the historically unfounded view that their institution was the rightful apostolic hierarchy founded by Thaddeus and Bartholomew and restored by St. Gregory the Illuminator. They also aspired to extend their limited spiritual and administrative authority by claiming the subordination of the patriarchate of Jerusalem. Kiulēsērian's contention that the references in a number of documents to Cilician incumbents as Catholicos of Jerusalem is ample proof of Jerusalem's dependence is hardly tenable; indeed, there are documents which refer to the Cilician incumbent as Catholicos of *All Armenians*, a title properly reserved for the supreme pontiff alone. It seems more logical to explain the mutual relations between the sees of Sis and Jerusalem in terms not of jurisdiction of the one over the other but of mutual respect — the monastics of the Holy Land always showing deference to a see whose incumbent bore the title of catholicos and with which their historic ties had always been close; and the authorities of the Cilician hierarchy always giving ample evidence of their solicitous concern for the welfare of the see of Jerusalem, particularly in deference to its important function as one of the custodians of the Holy Places.

ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE AND INTERNAL ORGANIZATION OF THE PATRIARCHATE

From the very beginning of the institution of the patriarchate of Jerusalem the principal bishop or patriarch, presumably elected by the monastics of the see, functioned in a dual capacity. He

was the principal guardian or custodian of the Armenian monasteries, churches, and religious endowments in the Holy Land, and was so recognized not only by the Armenian church hierarchies and people, but by all the ruling political authorities. Decrees issued by the state authorities, whether Arab, Mameluke, or Ottoman, traditionally recognized the patriarch as the actual owner and custodian of these sanctuaries and were issued in the name not of the institution but of the patriarch. And, secondly, he was the religious leader and chief administrator of the Armenian monastic institutions and secular communities within his jurisdiction. The mainstay of the patriarchate was, of course, the monastic congregation, known as the *Miabanut'iun Srbots' Hakov-beants'* (the Brotherhood or Order of the Apostles SS. James). There is no information on or even reference to the rules by which the monastic community was governed until the eighteenth century, but it seems logical to assume that some regulations concerning monastic duties, obligations, and privileges had indeed been devised. Theoretically the patriarchate functioned under the absolute rule of its leader, but in actual fact the patriarchs never seem to have wielded an autocratic rule. There is ample evidence that experienced and capable clerics within the institution always played a significant role in its administration and that their counsel customarily influenced the decisions and actions of the patriarchs. The noteworthy fact is that the relations between the leader and his advisers were not based upon any formulated and established regulations.¹⁷

Beginning in the thirteenth century, our information on the succession of the patriarchate of Jerusalem is more complete and well documented. We know that until about the end of the seventeenth century the patriarchs were elected by the bishops and vardapets of the monastic institution from among its own members, although in the second half of this century certain irregularities begin to appear. As in the catholicosate of Etchmiadzin,¹⁸ the incumbent patriarch customarily appointed his deputy or one of the principal bishops as his coadjutor (*at'orhakits'*). This was designed to insure the immediate and orderly succession to the office and thus to safeguard the security of the Armenian possessions in the Holy Places by preventing usurpations.¹⁹ And, finally, the system guaranteed the orderly discharge of the patriarchal responsibilities, through an experienced administrator.

In several instances the officeholder resigned voluntarily for

reasons of health or old age. If there was a coadjutor he was forthwith proclaimed successor; if not, the resigning patriarch either recommended a successor or left it up to the discretion of the order to elect one of its leading members. There are historical references to such orderly transfers of authority, such as when Patriarch Mkrtich' (1476-1479) resigned voluntarily due to old age and was succeeded by his coadjutor Bishop Abraham. This was effected by a *temessük* (legal document) signed by the *qadi* (judge) of Jerusalem and the Muslim notables.²⁰ Likewise, in 1532 Patriarch Hovhannēs transferred his office to Bishop Astuatsatur with the consent of the monastic order. The action was legalized, however, only after the two ecclesiastics concerned and two Muslim merchants who acted as witnesses appeared before the *qadi*, and the *qadi*, after obtaining the court's approval, issued an official *temessük*.²¹

Since the establishment of the Armenian patriarchate of Constantinople, Sultan Mehmet II and his successors had reserved the right of confirming the patriarch or *millet bashi* of the Armenian community in the Ottoman dominions. In course of time this procedure was also extended to include confirmation of the other regional religious leaders, namely, the catholicoses of Cilicia and Aght'amar and the patriarch of Jerusalem. The first historical reference to confirmation of the patriarch of Jerusalem dates back to the year 1542 when the election of the patriarch was officially approved by an imperial edict.²² Whether or not the tradition had prevailed prior to this date cannot be easily ascertained.

Little is known about the internal organization and administration of the patriarchate in the initial centuries of its historical development. Nevertheless, it is perhaps safe to assume that administration of the see was controlled by the patriarch himself in close collaboration with the leading monastics, and that under his general leadership and supervision there was some division of responsibility in carrying out the various functions affecting the institution and its holdings. There is valid reason to believe that until about the middle of the seventeenth century this system functioned with a good deal of stability.

As in the case of the patriarchate of Constantinople, however, this apparent stability deteriorated gradually in the second half of the seventeenth century. The period of decline followed the long and prosperous reign of Patriarch Grigor Parontēr (1613-1645), one of the most illustrious incumbents of the see of Jeru-

salem. In 1610, while still a young monk, he had been appointed as administrator of the see with extensive authority over its affairs because of the ineptness of the incumbent Patriarch Dawit', who however continued to hold the honorific title until his death in 1622.²³ Parontēr established a precedent by entrusting important administrative responsibilities within the patriarchate to trustworthy laymen, even dispatching some of them to neighboring and distant countries on fund-raising missions.²⁴ During his tenure of office this proved to be a useful and effective innovation; under his successors, however, it became an important factor in the deterioration of the administrative machinery.

In 1649, for the first time in the history of the patriarchate, the incumbent, Patriarch Astuatsatur, was removed from office. He was reinstated in the following year by an imperial edict of Sultan Mehmet IV, but the removal had already set a dangerous precedent. Since the beginning of the seventeenth century the patriarchate of Constantinople had been a pawn in the hands of ambitious and unscrupulous ecclesiastics who, supported by wealthy and influential laymen and with the connivance of government officials, usurped the office from one another. This state of affairs eventually had damaging effects on the patriarchate of Jerusalem as well. Hitherto, the relations between the two institutions had been marked by mutual cooperation and respect. In 1657, however, the pro-Catholic ecclesiastic T'ovma Beriats'i, who by an imperial edict — purchased with bribes and the promise of paying tenfold the amount of tribute customarily paid to the state by the Armenian millet — had usurped the patriarchate of Constantinople, also secured the patriarchal office of the see of Jerusalem under his own name as an integral part of the Constantinopolitan hierarchy. The reason for this extraordinary coup was to appropriate the proceeds of the see of Jerusalem in order to meet his financial obligations.²⁵ Subsequent to his overthrow and death two years later, his successor restored the former separation of the two patriarchal institutions.²⁶ Nevertheless, T'ovma had set a precedent and the action was repeated time and again with the most tragic consequences for the Jerusalem see.

THE DISSIDENT CATHOLICOSATE OF BISHOP EGHIAZAR

The periodic upheavals which affected the patriarchates of Constantinople and Jerusalem in the second half of the seven-

teenth century reached their climax in the 1660's with a scheme devised by Bishop Eghiazar of Jerusalem, who in the absence of Patriarch Astuatsatur was acting in the capacity of patriarchal deputy. The elaborately conceived and skillfully executed plan called for the severance of the patriarchates of Constantinople and Jerusalem and their dependent bishoprics from the authority of the pontifical see of Etchmiadzin, which then was under Persian dominion. Eghiazar sought the creation of a separate and independent catholicosate for the Armenian millet of the Ottoman empire. For practical reasons the new arrangement called for the maintenance of the regional catholicosate of Cilicia, which would retain jurisdiction over Cilicia and northern Syria. The headquarters of the new catholicosate were to be at Jerusalem.

The various factors involved in the implementation of the scheme were decidedly in Eghiazar's favor, for the interest of a number of the parties concerned seemed to coincide with those of the bishop, although for totally different reasons. The Ottoman authorities found it politically expedient to sever the Armenian millet from the supreme hierarchy which was located within the territories of the inimical state of Persia. To achieve this end they were apparently even willing to allow the ecclesiastical and civil leader of the millet to reside in Jerusalem rather than in the capital. In order to win approval for his scheme Eghiazar also capitalized on the malpractices and irregularities of the *nuiraks* (legates or nuncios) of the see of Etchmiadzin who were sent to the Ottoman capital and other provinces to distribute the holy chrism blessed by the catholicos and to solicit contributions for the see. With a view to counterbalancing the regard for Etchmiadzin, the Holy of Holies of the Armenian church, Eghiazar built a church adjacent to the cathedral of St. James in Jerusalem which he named Holy Etchmiadzin. And, finally, since he was fully aware that his contemplated scheme would have no canonical validity, he secured at a secret meeting in Jerusalem the approval of the catholicos of Cilicia, Khach'atur, by taking advantage of the traditional rivalry between the sees of Etchmiadzin and Cilicia.

In 1664 Eghiazar succeeded in obtaining an official edict from Grand Vizier Köprülü — primarily through the mediation of his Armenian banker Abrō Chelebi and the persuasive means of abundant bribes and gifts — which proclaimed him catholicos of the Armenians of the Ottoman empire and patriarch of Jeru-

salem. His seat was to be in that city. En route from Constantinople to Jerusalem Eghiazar stopped off at Aleppo where, according to their agreement, Catholicos Khach'atur, assisted by other bishops, conferred upon him the catholicosal ordination. This extraordinary move brought about strong and conflicting reactions and split the entire Armenian nation into opposing camps. A substantial segment of the Ottoman Armenians sided with Eghiazar, but an even larger proportion considered the separation from the see of Etchmiadzin unthinkable and unacceptable, particularly in view of the fact that the incumbent Catholicos Hakob commanded the respect and admiration of the vast majority of the Armenian communicants. The members of the monastic order of Jerusalem categorically refused to recognize Eghiazar as patriarch, and they won the local governor over to their cause. Patriarch Sargis of Constantinople did everything within his power to have the Grand Vizier Köprülü's edict rescinded. And Catholicos Hakob of Etchmiadzin sent urgent encyclicals everywhere warning the Armenian people against Eghiazar's uncanonical and dangerous coup, and urging them to defend the jurisdictions of the Mother See and to respect its sanctity. He also wrote to Eghiazar pointing out the grave dangers inherent in his action. Under these circumstances Eghiazar was unable to go to Jerusalem which he had chosen as his catholicosal seat.

Despite these vociferous protestations Köprülü reaffirmed Eghiazar's catholicosate; but, with a view to appeasing the opposition, he also confirmed Astuatsatur and Martiros Kafats'i as patriarch and patriarchal deputy of Jerusalem, respectively. This strange resolution obviously weakened Eghiazar's position, for without the see of Jerusalem his catholicosal office was meaningless. The impasse was finally resolved by Abrō Chelebi. He succeeded in persuading Köprülü to appoint Eghiazar as *nazër* (superintendent) or *mütevelli* (administrator) of the see of Jerusalem. This solution was designed to enable Eghiazar to gain virtual control of the administration of the patriarchate and in effect to nullify the positions of Astuatsatur and Martiros. Despite strong remonstrances from the opposition, on March 31, 1666, Köprülü reissued two edicts reaffirming Eghiazar as catholicos and patriarch of Jerusalem. Thereupon, in January 1667, he returned to the Holy City.

In the meantime the gravity of the situation had compelled

Catholicos Hakob of Etchmiadzin to journey to Constantinople to seek some effective means for reversing Eghiazar's unlawful venture, for in the final analysis the coup was directed against the canonical and traditional authority of the supreme pontificate. Thanks to his persuasive tongue and saintly demeanor, the catholicos was soon able to win over the majority of the national leaders who previously had favored Eghiazar, and obtained their solemn pledge to assert their influence with the government circles for the restoration of the jurisdictions of Etchmiadzin.²⁷ The sultan was so impressed with the catholicos that he forthwith issued categorical orders that all the titles conferred upon Eghiazar should be withdrawn, and that the catholicosate and patriarchate of Jerusalem should be granted to Catholicos Hakob himself.²⁸ This strange and unprecedented development raises some doubt as to whether the Ottoman authorities realized the full import of their decisions.

Prior to his departure for Etchmiadzin Catholicos Hakob transferred his newly acquired, and unsolicited, authority as patriarch of Jerusalem to Martiros, who arrived in the Holy City and removed Eghiazar. In the year 1668, however, the order of St. James agitated for the reinstatement of the former Patriarch Astuatsatur. Martiros did not oppose this demand since Astuatsatur's position, in view of his old age, could have been no more than nominal; he nevertheless kept to himself the office of deputy,²⁹ which indeed was tantamount to that of coadjutor. Soon after he learned of these developments Eghiazar hurried back to Constantinople and with the aid of powerful intermediaries and abundant bribes obtained another edict from Köprülü reaffirming him as catholicos and patriarch. He returned to Jerusalem in the year 1668.³⁰ But this, too, was short-lived, for soon Martiros returned to Constantinople and had himself confirmed as patriarch of Jerusalem. Patriarch Astuatsatur's death in 1671 provided the opportunity Eghiazar had been waiting for in order to recover his dual positions.

It is important to note that most of the ecclesiastics who were occupying and reoccupying the patriarchal office had achieved their appointments with gifts and bribes. To meet their large monetary commitments they had even mortgaged the properties and sacred vessels of the see. In consequence the institution's economic solvency had been gravely jeopardized. With a view

to preventing these outrages the order of St. James had sought to obtain imperial firmans "so that the patriarchs of Jerusalem would not be able to lay their hands upon the properties and furnishings of the monasteries."³¹ They had also formally protested that Martiros had "squandered and wasted, for his own ends, all the properties and possessions" of the see of Jerusalem.³² In contrast, it was common knowledge that Eghiazar, who had vast personal financial resources, was above reproach in this respect. He not only did not misuse the institution's financial and material assets, but expended a great deal of his own funds for its needs and prosperity.

For this reason it was not difficult for Eghiazar after the death of Astuatsatur to secure another edict from Köprülü reaffirming him as catholicos of the Armenians of the empire and as unchallenged patriarch and master of the see of Jerusalem. He returned to the Holy City and assumed these positions, which he held uninterruptedly for some ten years. As in the past he devoted all his energies and resources to the mounting needs of the patriarchate. This bizarre episode came to an equally strange conclusion. Upon the death of Catholicos Hakob of Etchmiadzin in 1681 Eghiazar was unanimously elected by the congregation of the pontifical see to succeed to the supreme hierarchical office.³³

The consensus of Armenian authors is that Eghiazar's venture was motivated by intense personal ambition; and he is generally portrayed as an individual who had no scruples about the means he employed to achieve his objectives. On the other hand, they are agreed that he was an ecclesiastic of extraordinary talent, as attested by his enormous energy and vitality and his dedication to the interests and welfare of the Armenian church and people. As a matter of fact, the numerous edifices that he constructed in the Holy Land bear testimony to his lasting contribution to the patriarchate of Jerusalem. In his capacity as patriarchal deputy he staunchly and successfully defended the Armenian possessions in the Holy Places against the encroachments of the Greeks and Latins. It seems likely that this very practical-minded ecclesiastic felt a strong sense of mission to correct the ills which had beset the Armenian church institution, a mission which he must have felt amply qualified and perhaps destined to fulfill. Though he had innate intelligence and personal integrity, Eghiazar was doubtless wanting in farsightedness, for he mis-

judged the extent of the Armenians' attachment to the historic pontificate of Etchmiadzin, which above all else symbolized the spiritual and emotional unity of the Armenian dispersion.

The means employed by Eghiazar and by his antagonists to gain control of the hierarchical sees was symptomatic of the general malaise which had afflicted the administration of the Armenian church in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This state of affairs, which was also in evidence in the Greek millet, was perhaps to a large extent the product of the political and administrative ills of the Ottoman government. The usurpation and reoccupation of the patriarchate of Jerusalem and the establishment of a new catholicosate could never have been effected without the consent of the political authorities, who were obviously less interested in the stability of a subject minority than in political expediency and, perhaps more importantly, in financial remuneration. This disrespect on the part of officials for orderly government, the general lack of concern for the public welfare, and the recurrent reversal of official decisions naturally produced damaging effects upon the community itself.

The contradictions in official policy were repeated time and again. For instance, even when Eghiazar functioned as catholicos and patriarch of Jerusalem, Bishop Martiros was granted an official edict in 1676 by Grand Vizier Kara Mustafa Pasha which recognized him as patriarch of the same see. It is noteworthy that Martiros did not establish his seat in the Holy City but in Constantinople, where he set up a prelacy and collected the revenues of the patriarchate of Jerusalem to support his nominal office. He even sent instructions to Eghiazar, whom he regarded as his deputy in Jerusalem.³⁴ This extraordinary situation was sanctioned by the government, primarily because it assured high-ranking officials of additional revenue.

THE PATRIARCHATE IN THE EIGHTEENTH AND EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURIES

Upon Eghiazar's succession to the pontifical see of Etchmiadzin, Martiros assumed the patriarchal office in Jerusalem.³⁵ After his death in August 1683 the see was occupied in rapid succession by a number of ecclesiastics. The general confusion which ensued ushered in one of the darkest periods in the annals of the patri-

archate. In the year 1702 Patriarch Awetik' of Constantinople succeeded, through his old friend the all-powerful Sheyhül-islam Feyzüllah, in having himself proclaimed patriarch of Jerusalem as well. The edict was put into effect through the Porte, which removed the incumbent Patriarch Minas Amtets'i from office on charges of embezzlement and, perhaps more importantly, pro-Catholic sympathies. Both charges subsequently were proved to be false.³⁶

Since about the beginning of the seventeenth century the patriarchate of Jerusalem had had general financial administrators, the most notable examples being Grigor Parontēr and Eghiazar prior to their elevation to the patriarchal office. Under Parontēr this function had also been entrusted to laymen known as *nazēr*, *baba*, *vekil*, or *mütevelli*.³⁷ With the union of the patriarchates of Constantinople and Jerusalem under Awetik', Jerusalem lost its age-old prerogative of appointing its own hierarchs. In their capacity as incumbents of the see of Jerusalem, Awetik' and his successors appointed their own ecclesiastical or lay representatives, whose primary function in Jerusalem was to plunder the institution's resources for the personal benefit of the patriarchs of Constantinople who followed one another in rapid succession. Each of these hierarchs in turn dispatched his own deputies, who in the process of serving the personal interests of their benefactors did not fail to satisfy their own greed as well. The unspeakable acts of violence and corruption are most graphically described by the eyewitness Hannē Vardapet, who asserts that they not only denuded the see of its cash reserves but also mortgaged its properties to obtain loans, sold sacred vessels, vestments and ornaments, and plundered the pilgrims. As a result the see incurred a liability of some five hundred *kises* (purses) to creditors, who resorted to all manner of violence and coercion to recover their money. In view of this "the Armenians became the laughing-stock of the other Christian communities," and it became a "shameful thing in Jerusalem to be called an Armenian."³⁸

This moral and economic degradation was finally put to an end by the Vardapet Hovhannēs Kolot, whom the national leaders in Constantinople had dispatched to Jerusalem in 1713 as patriarchal deputy. Despite the opposition of the lay deputies who did everything to thwart his efforts, Kolot succeeded in restoring some semblance of law and order in the institution. Be-

cause of the total lack of revenue, however, it was difficult to satisfy the ever increasing pressures of the creditors, who eventually secured a firman from the Porte that payment should be obtained through the sale of properties of the patriarchate. Upon the entreaties of the monks the creditors finally agreed to a time limit of four years for the repayment of loans. They also accepted Kolot as the institution's guarantor. Before an assemblage of the order of St. James, Kolot broke into pieces the so-called *ortayimöhür*, that is, the official seal of the patriarchate with which the lay deputies sealed the *temessüks* and promissory notes to obtain loans, for which they were not personally responsible.³⁹

In the following year Kolot went to Constantinople on a mission which turned out to be historic in its consequences. He pleaded with the national leaders to rid the see of Jerusalem of its most burdensome financial obligations. And he successfully argued for the restoration of the see's independence by separating it from the patriarchate of Constantinople and by limiting to general supervision the center's role in the affairs of Jerusalem. The national leaders not only agreed to his proposals but, desirous of resolving many of the difficulties involving the two institutions, prevailed on him to accept the office of patriarch of Constantinople for himself and to nominate a patriarch for Jerusalem. Kolot's choice for Jerusalem was none other than his mentor Bishop Grigor Shiruants'i, the abbot of the monastery of St. Karapet in Mush. The separation of the two patriarchates was thus effected in September of 1715.

It should be noted parenthetically that the sultan and the Porte took some twenty months to ratify these changes by imperial edicts.⁴⁰ This was, indeed, a turning point in the history of both institutions. Through their long tenures of office, their personal piety and integrity, and their unqualified dedication to their historic church, Kolot and Grigor brought dignity and stability to their respective patriarchates. Working with unprecedented harmony, these two outstanding ecclesiastics succeeded, in a brief time and against heavy odds, in meeting the most urgent needs of their sees.

Symbolic of his devotion to his see, Grigor wore an iron chain around his neck and vowed not to remove it until its financial obligations, now estimated at 800 *kises*, had been completely paid off. He thus earned the title of "Shght'ayakir" (the Chain

Bearer).⁴¹ The lay deputies at Jerusalem were immediately removed. In due time the loans were repaid. Indeed the abundance of popular contributions enabled Grigor to increase the patriarchate's properties in the Holy Land. Thus, at long last, the beleaguered institution regained its former law and order, prosperity, and splendor.⁴²

Hitherto, the patriarchate of Jerusalem had been administered not according to a set of specific regulatory provisions but according to tradition which was not necessarily strictly adhered to. The interregnum of 1702-1715, resulting from the merger of the patriarchates of Constantinople and Jerusalem, had underscored the urgent necessity of formulating some basic principles designed primarily to prevent a recurrence of the disintegration of the Jerusalem see's administrative machinery. Who actually initiated the move in this direction is not known. It seems certain, however, that the so-called Catholicos Karapet's Canons of Anathema were officially proclaimed by Catholicos Karapet on the occasion of the consecration of an Armenian church at Ortaköy in Constantinople in August of 1726 after due consultation among and with the approval of patriarchs Kolot and Grigor Shght'ayakir and the national leaders. The official pronouncement by the catholicos prior to his departure for Etchmiadzin seems to have been designed to give the regulations the maximum possible authority and to underscore their great significance.

The style of the canons, as reproduced by the contemporary Hannē, has all the earmarks of an official proclamation, and therefore must be presumed to be the text actually pronounced by Catholicos Karapet.⁴³ The first canon forbade any *ekamut* (outsider or alien) from assuming the office of patriarch or *vekil* of the see of Jerusalem. The term *ekamut* was described as one who had "not been brought up at Jerusalem," who did not possess a thorough knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, who did not have a full knowledge of the see's financial affairs, and who had not had long experience in matters affecting the administration of the patriarchal institution. The election of one who secured the position through "hypocrisy" or "false accusations," whether or not he was from within the institution, was also forbidden. The second canon categorically prohibited the appointment of any layman or ecclesiastic as supervisor or principal agent of the see under the title of *baba* or *nazēr*, or any other designation. The third

and last canon emphatically prohibited the annexation or merger of the patriarchate of Jerusalem with the patriarchate of Constantinople or any other see. Those who acted contrary to the stipulations of the first two canons were to be anathematized; those who violated the third were to be pronounced excommunicated from the Christian faith.

The real meaning of the word *ekamut* is open to various interpretations and has been disputed. Both A. Tēr-Hovhannēsians' and Sawalanians' assert that the monastic order of St. James at Jerusalem always interpreted the first canon to mean that any ecclesiastic who did not belong to that order was barred from assuming the patriarchal office in the Holy City.⁴⁴ It seems more logical to conclude, however, that the expression "brought up in Jerusalem" did not refer to membership in the monastic order, particularly since the following three stipulations simply required learning in Biblical studies and knowledge of the affairs of the see of Jerusalem, which of course could have been acquired without membership in the order. Indeed, the incumbent Patriarch Grigor Shght'ayakir and his successor Hakob Nalian were not members of the order of St. James. This view is further supported by the prescription that ambitious and conniving ecclesiastics, whether from within or without the institution, should be barred from the patriarchal election.

The purpose of the second canon was simply to prevent the patriarchs of Constantinople from appointing administrative officials for the see of Jerusalem, and thus to halt the corruption and plunder caused by this practice. This canon should not be interpreted strictly, however, because the national authorities at Constantinople did not abandon their right of general supervision of the affairs of the patriarchate of Jerusalem. The third and by far the most fundamental of the canons, the injunction against the merger of the two patriarchates, was adhered to most strictly.⁴⁵

Beginning some time subsequent to the founding of the patriarchate of Constantinople there was a special representative of the see of Jerusalem in residence at the capital. Customarily, this official served in a dual capacity: as liaison between the two institutions, protecting the interests of his see; and as a representative of Jerusalem to the Sublime Porte, submitting various petitions of his see either independently or more often in consultation and cooperation with the Constantinopolitan patriarch and national lead-

ers. The practical importance of this arrangement cannot be overstated, particularly as many of the problems affecting the interests of the patriarchate of Jerusalem, especially those which involved controversies with other Christian communities regarding the Holy Places, were of necessity settled at Constantinople. In its initial stages this representation does not seem to have been a permanent feature; rather, the incumbent hierarch of Constantinople and prominent laymen were requested to mediate in behalf of the see of Jerusalem, and in special circumstances envoys were dispatched from the Holy City to apprise these authorities of the problems involved before petitions were submitted to the Sublime Porte. The special relationship that existed between Patriarchs Hovhannēs Kolot and Grigor Shght'ayakir was such that throughout their long tenures of office Kolot also served in the capacity of official representative of the see of Jerusalem in the capital. Subsequent to Kolot's death in 1741 it became customary for the see of Jerusalem to appoint a member of its monastic order as its duly authorized representative in the capital. This tradition continued with but one hiatus, from 1764 to 1765 when Patriarch Grigor Pasmachian of Constantinople assumed the task of representative for Jerusalem.⁴⁶

In addition to the representative there were from Jerusalem the representative's ecclesiastical and lay assistants; the *hrawiraks*, the title given to those vardapets who were dispatched to Constantinople every year after Easter to make the necessary arrangements for and to accompany the pilgrims in the following year; and the nuncios (*nuiraks*) who were sent on periodic fund-raising missions. Until 1799 these functionaries were housed in the patriarchal residence, and the Constantinopolitan patriarchate provided for their needs. For these facilities the deputy of Jerusalem paid 3000 piasters a year. In 1799 the functionaries moved to a building constructed especially to house them, which stood across from the main Armenian cathedral. At this time the see of Jerusalem assumed responsibility for their expenses, and Patriarch Daniël of Constantinople canceled the annual payment, with the knowledge and approval of the council of amiras.

By 1819, however, the ever increasing involvement of the patriarchate of Constantinople in the affairs of Jerusalem as an intermediary between it and the Porte and the mounting expenses incurred in the prosecution of litigations in Jerusalem's behalf, as

well as other administrative services, necessitated a new financial agreement.⁴⁷ In 1819 Patriarch Pōghos Grigorian of Constantinople and Patriarch Gabriēl of Jerusalem agreed that the see of Jerusalem would pay 1000 piasters annually to the patriarch of Constantinople in compensation for his services both as an intermediary between the see and the Ottoman government and as administrator of the see's affairs in the capital. In subsequent years this amount was increased many times.

We have seen that the canons of Catholicos Karapet were the first written regulations governing the management of the see of Jerusalem. A further step in this direction was taken in the year 1755 when a new set of rules, the *Kanonakan Bank'*, was drafted by the national leaders at Constantinople with the concurrence of Patriarch Tēodoros of Jerusalem to establish the functions of a newly constituted council of advisers in the see. The role of the council was to cooperate with the patriarch in the administration of the see, to advise him on serious monastic matters, and to supervise the efficient administration of the see's financial affairs.⁴⁸

After 1752 the monastic order in the Holy City as a rule elected one of its own members to the patriarchal office. The election was then approved by the patriarchate and national council at Constantinople, and through their intermediary the imperial edict ratifying the selection was obtained. In certain cases the order selected a list of nominees and requested the national authorities at Constantinople to choose one of them. Bishop Hovakim K'anak'erts'i, who then was acting as deputy of Jerusalem in the capital, was thus elected in 1775. It was the difficulties encountered by this patriarch in administering the internal affairs of the see and its properties that made apparent the need for fundamental remedies and prompted the drafting of new regulations. In June 1791 a new set of regulations, drafted by Patriarch Zak'aria of Constantinople "for the reformation of the administration of the holy see of Jerusalem and to free it from complaints and accusations," was unanimously approved by the national council.⁴⁹

In summary, these regulations limited the authority of the patriarch in the management of the see's administrative and financial matters. Six ecclesiastical advisers drawn from among the members of the monastic order were to function as the patriarch's assistants; the revenues and expenditures of the institution

were to be managed with their knowledge. In addition, the regulations provided for a treasurer, a chief disburser, and other officials, who were to be appointed with the consent of the advisers. The members of the first advisory council were designated by the national authorities, and two delegates were dispatched to Jerusalem to supervise the implementation of the regulations.⁵⁰

These arrangements did not, however, resolve the see's serious financial crisis. The situation became so critical that the national authorities refused to comply with the wishes of the monastic order to elect a successor to Patriarch T'ëodoros Vanets'i, who had died on August 22, 1818. Instead, they preferred to strengthen the constitutional regime in Jerusalem. With this objective in mind, they reconstituted the council of advisers, added seven new articles to the regulations, and sent a delegate to the Holy City to supervise the implementation of the regulations. Subsequent to the acceptance of the new provisions, however, the order insisted on the election of a new patriarch who, it emphasized, should be a member of the institution. Accordingly, on July 12, 1819, the national leaders elected the patriarchal deputy at Constantinople, Bishop Gabriël Nikomidats'i.

It soon became apparent that the see would not be able to resolve its financial difficulties. The administration under Gabriël did not function effectively, and the council of advisers was virtually dissolved. In view of this the national authorities approved, in August 1823, a new set of regulations consisting of sixteen articles, which was sent to Jerusalem with a newly constituted council of advisers appointed by Constantinople from among the members of the monastic order. Shortly thereafter they took the unprecedented step of appointing former Patriarch Pōghos Grigorian, a member of the Jerusalem order, as provisional "supreme administrator" of the see — a position which he held until his death in May 1853. Pōghos' acceptance of the novel office was conditioned by the removal of Patriarch Gabriël from Jerusalem, without however depriving him of his title. The new regulations vested all executive and administrative authority in the council of advisers. The institution's other functionaries were placed under the supervision of the council. The last article empowered the patriarch to convene the general assembly of the monastic order twice a year to advise and propose reforms, particularly in matters relating to monastic behavior.⁵¹

The appointment of Bishop Pōghos as supreme administrator was instrumental in rectifying the patriarchate's financial crisis, as well as in bringing about stability and harmony within the institution. Although several patriarchs reigned while he held this position, practically nothing of major importance was done during his thirty-year tenure without prior consultation with him, and to the end he remained the "elder statesman."

The order of St. James by tradition did not admit into membership any candidates who had relatives in Jerusalem. The purpose of this rule was to prevent families and relatives of monks from laying claim to their bequests. But this tacit regulation was at times circumvented. For instance, Tēodoros Khorenats'i, a native of Jerusalem, had not only been ordained a monk but even elevated to the rank of bishop. The issue came to the fore only in 1752 when the order of St. James, which had elected him as patriarch, sought the approval of the national authorities at Constantinople. The issue was finally resolved when, prior to his ratification, Tēodoros signed an official document recognizing the Jerusalem see as the sole beneficiary of his personal possessions and assets. Moreover, an imperial edict was obtained proclaiming that henceforth the institution was the sole legal inheritor of the assets of all its members.⁵²

The same situation recurred about a century later. Following the death of Patriarch Zak'aria in 1846, the order of St. James nominated Bishop Kirakos, a native of Jerusalem, then acting as deputy of the see in the capital, who had served the see for some thirty-five years with great dedication and distinction. Kirakos was the unanimous choice of the order, but the national administration in Constantinople was inclined to be more traditionalist than the order itself.

The opposition of Constantinople to Kirakos' election was largely motivated by strategic considerations. The national leaders were eager to exercise greater authority in the management of the see's fiscal administration. More importantly they wished to secure substantial monetary assistance from Jerusalem to finance the newly founded Armenian school of higher learning, the Jemaran, at Constantinople. In previous years their attempts in this regard had met with the opposition of the patriarchs of Jerusalem. They therefore wanted to elect an ecclesiastic who was amenable to their scheme, preferably a bishop who was not a

member of the monastic order. In interpreting the canons of Catholicos Karapet, they argued that it would be a more grave offense to elect a native of Jerusalem than a nonmember of the order. The general assembly of the order, in July 1846, categorically rejected the center's proposals, in particular the suggestion to elect an outsider. The impasse was finally resolved by a compromise agreement. The monastic order agreed to pay 120,000 piasters a year toward the maintenance of the Jemaran. This was in addition to the 3000 piasters paid annually to the patriarchate as *kanchilarya* (chancery fees) by the deputy of Jerusalem at Constantinople. At the behest of the national authorities Kirakos signed a declaration severing his associations with his relatives in Jerusalem, barring them from his inheritance as well as from holding any office in the institution. On this basis, Kirakos' election as patriarch was confirmed in December of 1846.⁵³

THE CRISIS OF 1860-1865

Soon after the death of Patriarch Hovhannēs in December 1860, the general assembly of the order of St. James elected Gēorg T'at'ariants', the only bishop in the see, as *locum tenens*. The order sent three official communications to Constantinople pledging to abide by the provisions of the National Constitution and requesting Gēorg's speedy confirmation as patriarch of Jerusalem.⁵⁴ In addition, the assembly drafted a new set of regulations for the see proposing the creation of two councils, one for internal and the other for external affairs, composed of monastic officials whose duties were defined only in general terms.⁵⁵ This draft was designed to assist the millet's central administration in formulating the see's definitive regulations. Upon the sudden death of Bishop Gēorg in January 1861 the monks nominated the vardapet Isahak Astuatsaturian, the deputy of Jerusalem at Constantinople, for the patriarchal office, and firmly rejected the appointment of any other ecclesiastic who was not a member of the order.⁵⁶

The death of the strong-willed Patriarch Hovhannēs removed from the scene one of the major obstacles to the center's scheme of bringing the see of Jerusalem, particularly its treasury, under closer control. Taking advantage of this situation the authorities in Constantinople appointed the aged monk Vrt'anēs Vardanian of Jerusalem as *locum tenens* and, ignoring the proposed regu-

lations submitted by the order, formulated another draft.⁵⁷ These regulations provided for election of the patriarch of Jerusalem by the national assembly in Constantinople from among three candidates submitted by the order's general assembly and drawn from its own ranks. The patriarch was recognized as the president of the order's governing bodies and the executor of the decisions of the institution's executive council. The executive council was to be elected by, and responsible to, the monastic general assembly; it was held responsible for the administration of the see, including its finances. The monastic assembly was empowered to elect the patriarchal candidates and the members of the executive council. Significantly, the central administration of Constantinople reserved to itself a number of unprecedented prerogatives, which indicated the kind of control it wished to exercise over the patriarchate of Jerusalem. These included the right to: sell any properties owned by the patriarchate; demand its financial statements; require payment by Jerusalem of an annual allotment to the center; give or withhold confirmation of the members of the order's executive council; and dispatch investigators to Jerusalem whenever it deemed necessary. It also vested itself with the power to administer the institution's financial affairs through two appointed representatives. For the time being, however, it delegated this authority to the order and expressed the hope that it would not be compelled to use its powers in this regard. The text of these regulations was sent to Jerusalem.

Complying with the center's instructions, the general assembly, meeting in March 1861, nominated Isahak Astuatsaturian, Hakob Hovhannēsian and Esayi Karapetian — with 64 votes for the first and 7 apiece for the last two — as patriarchal candidates. In their report to the center they stated that any one of these three nominees was acceptable to them, but they made their preference for Isahak amply evident. At the same time the monastics objected to some of the regulations, in particular to the provisions empowering the center to sell any of the see's properties without its consent; to the payment of annual allotment, on the grounds that the institution's revenues were always uncertain (they agreed, however, to make periodic "contributions" if and when its treasury permitted); and to the dispatching of investigators, on the grounds that this might revive the old system of the lay deputies (*nazērs*).

The Jerusalem order's refusal to accept the regulations without

modification infuriated the center's civil council, which arbitrarily ruled that the patriarchal nominations, allegedly conducted in violation of the National Constitution, were invalid. The religious council, however, not only confirmed the legality of the electoral procedure but insisted that one of the three nominees should forthwith be selected patriarch.⁵⁸ Dubious that it could obtain from the national assembly a resolution supporting its position, the civil council resorted to the stratagem of dispatching the priest Hovhannēs Hiunk'earpeyentian to Jerusalem ostensibly to supervise the election of a new list of patriarchal nominees, but in reality to achieve the postponement of the election until the order agreed to accept the proposed regulations intact.⁵⁹ Isahak Astuatsaturian, the Jerusalem see's deputy in the capital and its favored candidate, counseled against the priest's mission and, to dispel any suspicions regarding his personal ambitions, also declared that he was not a candidate for the patriarchal office — a declaration which was later used by the civil council to pronounce him ineligible.⁶⁰ The priest's mission was a complete failure, for the order's general assembly unanimously rejected his proposals.⁶¹

The issue, debated in the Armenian national assembly and hotly disputed in the press, quickly became a national one. The articulate segment of the Armenian community in the capital had been split into two factions over the basic question of the extent to which the principles of the National Constitution must be applied within the millet, in particular to the see of Jerusalem. The progressive group, the Constitutionalists, advocated extensive liberal reforms and therefore favored the election of an outsider as patriarch, while the traditionalists, the Conservatives, advocated moderation and favored the election of an insider, claiming the authority of the Canons of Catholicos Karapet.

Finally the religious council unanimously adopted a resolution affirming that the patriarch of Jerusalem must be a member of the order; that articles 41 and 42 of the proposed regulations were contrary to the Canons of Catholicos Karapet; that religious questions must be resolved on the authority of canon law and not by plurality of votes; and that there was no valid ground for depriving Isahak or any other vardapet from election to the patriarchal office.⁶² In vain did the Constitutionalists try to invalidate these decisions. The gravity of the situation which en-

sued is evidenced by the protests and counterprotests made to the Ottoman authorities.

In August 1861 the Porte permitted the Armenian national assembly, which had been disbanded because of the government's failure to approve the National Constitution, to reconvene for the specific purpose of electing the patriarch of Jerusalem. The major issue at this juncture was whether the Canons of Catholicos Karapet were authentic. It is important to note that the incumbent Catholicos Matt'ēos of Etchmiadzin not only confirmed their authenticity, but anathematized all those who ventured to act contrary to the canons; and this official ruling was reaffirmed by the Porte.⁶³ Nevertheless, the Constitutionalist leaders and a band of youths forced the patriarch and a number of bishops to sign a declaration that the regulations drafted by the civil council at Constantinople for Jerusalem should remain intact; that Isahak should be disqualified from candidacy; and that the three nominees should be elected by the executive councils of the national assembly.⁶⁴ The resultant confusion brought the Ottoman security forces to the patriarchate; several men were arrested as agitators; some newspapers were suspended; and the election was postponed. And worse still, on August 26, 1861, the Porte notified the patriarchate of its firm decision to deny its approval of the National Constitution,⁶⁵ and in consequence the national assembly was dissolved. Thus, the serious controversy involving the patriarchate of Jerusalem had the unfortunate effect of frustrating the whole constitutional system. There is little doubt that the staunchest supporters of the proposed constitution were largely responsible for its demise.⁶⁶

The patriarchal election was indefinitely postponed, but the "insider-outsider" issue persisted as a subject of public debate.⁶⁷ After many vicissitudes the revised version of the National Constitution was ratified by the Porte in March of 1863. By August of the same year three monks of the see of Jerusalem, including Isahak Astuatsaturian, had been ordained bishops at Etchmiadzin with the concurrence of the Armenian authorities in the capital. The deadlock was finally broken in January of 1864 when, acceding to the suggestion of the newly elected Patriarch Pōghos T'ak't'ak'ian of Constantinople, the reconstituted national assembly resolved that the patriarchal election for the see of Jerusalem should precede the definitive settlement of the question of the

regulations. Accordingly, the order's general assembly drew up a list of seven candidates, and on August 14 the national assembly at Constantinople elected the monk Esayi Karapetian as patriarch of Jerusalem.⁶⁸

Thus the controversy was resolved in favor of the Conservative faction and, in particular, of the monastics of Jerusalem who remained firm in their view that the electee should be from among their own ranks. The final outcome of the election, however, did not reflect the order's preference, namely, Bishop Isahak; Esayi had not received even one third of their votes. Bishop Isahak's defeat is largely attributable to his defense of the rights of Jerusalem against the efforts of the Constitutionalists to gain virtual control of the see, particularly its financial resources. The choice of the less qualified Esayi suggests also that the national authorities favored someone whom they might easily influence. These considerations were of course not unbeknownst to the monastic order; but it was willing to accept the decision so long as one of their number had been chosen.

After receiving his episcopal ordination at Etchmiadzin, Esayi stopped off at Constantinople to settle the most urgent questions involving his see and the central authorities. The central council presented him with two demands: first, an annual payment of 120,000 piasters from the treasury of his see to the national administration; and, secondly, the establishment at Jerusalem of an advanced theological seminary, a first-rate printing press, and a museum-library. Pointing out that the seminary, press, and library would require large financial outlays, Esayi insisted that either one or the other of the two demands should be withdrawn. Accordingly the central council agreed to drop the proposed annual allotment. With his arrival in Jerusalem and accession to the patriarchal throne in April 1865 the serious controversy over the succession to the see, which had lasted for over four years, was finally resolved.

THE REGULATIONS OF 1865, 1880, AND 1888

The problem of regulations was also resolved with the national assembly's approval, on March 19, 1865, of a draft prepared by the central council at Constantinople. It was the first such document for any Armenian ecclesiastical institution within the em-

pire following the government's official ratification of the National Constitution.

Articles 17-23 of the National Constitution, which dealt with the patriarchate of Jerusalem, were primarily concerned with the office of patriarch and the patriarch's relations with the central authorities. As the occupant of the see of St. James, the patriarch was recognized as the custodian of the Holy Places belonging to the Armenians in the Holy Land and as the chief executive and president of the monastic order. His responsibility was to act in accordance with, and watch over the faithful execution of, the institution's regulations. In the event that he acted contrary to its provisions he would be liable to charges brought either by the monastic order or by the national administration of Constantinople. If found guilty he would be deposed by decision of the national assembly. The constitution stipulated that the person to be elected as patriarch of Jerusalem should be a bishop or vardapet belonging to the order — a clause which, as we have seen, was largely responsible for the suspension of the National Constitution. Immediately after the death of the incumbent patriarch, a general meeting of the order was to be convoked to elect one of its own members as locum tenens and to submit to the patriarchate of Constantinople a list of at least seven nominees. The central executive councils were to choose three of these candidates from which the national assembly would elect the new patriarch.

Article 48 of the National Constitution was particularly important from the standpoint of the relations between the patriarchates of Constantinople and Jerusalem. For this reason it is reproduced here in entirety.

The monasteries [within the Ottoman empire] are the property of the nation. Hence the supervision and control of their administration and the management of their finance belong to the nation.

Inasmuch as it is necessary for each monastery to have its own particular regulations, the Mixed Assembly, consisting of the Political [Civil] and Religious Assemblies of the Central Administration, with due consideration of the opinions of the brotherhood of each monastery and of the opinions of the Council for Monasteries, prepares a set of rules and presents it to the General Assembly for confirmation. The fundamental principles for such rules are: —

- I. The special management of each monastery belongs to its brother-

hood, but the right of the general superintendence of them all belongs to the Central Administration, of which the Council for Monasteries is the executive body.

II. The Abbot of each monastery is elected by its brotherhood, and is confirmed by the Patriarch (of Constantinople) with the consent of the Mixed Assembly of the Central Administration. The person to be elected Abbot should be over thirty years of age, a vardapet (doctor), and a subject of the Ottoman Empire.

III. All monasteries are obliged to promote the moral improvement of the nation. Hence each one, according to its capacity, should have a seminary, a library, a printing office, a hospital, and other similar useful establishments.

The Council for Monasteries is composed of seven persons elected by the Political [Civil] Assembly by plurality of votes.

Its functions and duties are to superintend the execution of the rules of each monastery, to ascertain the revenues and expenditure, and to arrange and regulate it all.

This Council elects from the brotherhood of each monastery the managers of the affairs of the monastery. These should perform their duties under the presidency of the Abbot and in accordance with the rules of the monastery, and at stated times should give an account of their doings to the Council for Monasteries.⁶⁹

The regulations for the patriarchate of Jerusalem which were approved by the national assembly in 1865 differed appreciably in a number of important provisions from the terms of the National Constitution. To begin with, these regulations⁷⁰ contained the unprecedented stipulation that the patriarch of Jerusalem should take his oath of office not in Jerusalem as heretofore but before the national assembly at Constantinople. He was to administer the affairs of his see with the assistance of an executive council, whose duties were defined to be the general administration of the religious, civil, educational, and financial affairs of the monastic order, under the supervision of the patriarch. The executive council was also empowered to elect the monastery's principal officials — with the exception of the chief sacristan who was to be elected by the general assembly of the order — who were to be confirmed by the patriarch, but were to be directly responsible to the executive council. These stipulations were obviously designed to curtail the powers of the patriarch by vesting in the executive council many of the prerogatives which this officeholder had previously enjoyed.

The council's powers were in turn restricted by certain checks, including the provisions that the see's financial administrator be elected by the council for monasteries at Constantinople; that the annual financial report of the see be submitted to the national administration after its approval by the general assembly of the order; that the center's prior consent be required for negotiation of loans in excess of 50,000 piasters a year and for sale of properties; and that the see "provisionally" continue to pay 18,000 piasters annually to the treasury of the central administration.

The most objectionable provision of the regulations was article 44, which stated that "the relations of the monastery of Jerusalem with the council for monasteries of the central executive council shall be as provided for in Article 48 of the National Constitution." This provision was particularly offensive because the centuries-old see of Jerusalem was thus being equated with all the other and much less significant monastic institutions in the empire. The patriarchate of Jerusalem did not consider itself a mere monastery, and indeed had had a long tradition of independent historical development as one of the major sees of the Armenian church. This fundamental distinction, however, was ignored by the national authorities for whom centralization of authority had become the primary objective.

In accordance with these regulations, Patriarch Esayi took his oath of office before the national assembly at Constantinople. While still in the capital, he also gave his consent to the new rules; the national authorities interpreted this as indicating the order's approval as well. It is doubtful that Esayi could have given his wholehearted consent to all the provisions, because he had been a staunch supporter of the interests of the see of Jerusalem in the controversy which preceded his election. He probably wished to dispose of the issue by expressing his formal consent, knowing full well that the execution of the regulations was largely dependent upon him.⁷¹ Indeed, none of the objectionable provisions was put into effect after Esayi returned to Jerusalem, for the patriarchate continued to be administered as heretofore. For all practical purposes, the Regulations of 1865 remained a dead letter, and even the central authorities did not insist upon complete implementation. This situation lasted until 1880 when new regulations were formulated and officially promulgated.

Certain developments in Jerusalem, even at the start of his reign, proved that the national assembly had been totally unwise in selecting Esayi, who was completely unequal to the demands of his office. This is substantiated by his injudicious management of the see's finances and by his inability to muster the institution's human resources, especially to meet the new challenges brought about by the spirit of liberalism pervading the monastics. His endeavors seemed to be designed to prove his progressivist aspirations, which he genuinely felt the millet expected of him, in part perhaps because of his reputation as an energetic and enlightened ecclesiastic. Among the costly projects which were launched at his initiative with seeming disregard for the institution's material resources were the unwarranted enlargement of the theological seminary; the expansion of the institution's printing press and its staff; the establishment of a galvanizing workshop designed to gold-plate and silver-plate objects of little value; and the excessive expenditures for the betterment of the monastics' welfare. To finance these projects he was compelled to negotiate loans at high-interest rates, the interest alone representing a yearly aggregate of 5000 liras. With a view to remedying the situation, Esayi sent a number of nuncios to the Armenian communities in Asia Minor, the Caucasus, Russia, Persia, and India to solicit contributions and to collect the proceeds from various properties which the see owned in these countries. The nuncios returned to Jerusalem with a total sum of more than 9000 liras. This, however, proved inadequate because of the persistence of Esayi's fiscal mismanagement, and the see was still faced with a liability of 14,000 liras.⁷²

Esayi sought to reform the structure of the patriarchate by encouraging the active participation of the younger monks and even the deacons. In 1870 he appointed a committee to draft a new set of bylaws, but the majority of this group consisted of ecclesiastics who had little respect or sympathy for him. The instrument which it formulated contained provisions which were clearly designed to reduce the authority of the patriarch by vesting practically all of his powers in the monastic executive council. Fully cognizant of this, Esayi rejected the draft. Two years later, however, he was prevailed upon to agree to the formulation of a new draft. In May 1872 these bylaws, essentially the same as those he had rejected, were approved by the order's general as-

sembly. Freedom of speech, thought to be an essential feature of the new liberalism, encouraged even the young deacons to agitate for equal rights with the older monks in the deliberations of the general assembly. These elements challenged the authority of the patriarch and reduced him virtually to a constitutional leader in the strictest sense. Under the new system the real power in the administration passed into the hands of the young monks and deacons who constituted the majority of the executive council. Thus Esayi's position was considerably weakened as a result of his own liberal policies.

After many unsuccessful attempts at rectifying the financial crisis the patriarchate finally resorted to the national authorities at Constantinople for a practical remedy in November 1878. After long deliberations the national assembly authorized Patriarch Nersēs Varzhapetian to take whatever measures he deemed necessary for the resolution of the crisis. In October 1879 a special committee appointed by him recommended the imposition of a national levy of three piasters on each Armenian in the Ottoman empire for a period of three years, on condition that 75 percent of the proceeds would be earmarked for the needs of the see of Jerusalem. In addition, it was resolved to administer the properties of the patriarchate in a manner that would ensure a substantial increase in revenue and to dispatch nuncios to countries outside of Turkey to solicit contributions. And finally, a prominent national, Dr. Step'an Aslanian Pasha, was appointed as the center's delegate plenipotentiary to the patriarchate of Jerusalem to investigate the situation and to assist the institution in putting its house in order.⁷³ Nevertheless, the issue of the see's financial obligations was left in abeyance for a while, first because of the immediate urgency of revising its constitution and secondly because of the controversy centering about the vardapet Ghewond Mak'sutian, who held the office of the institution's chief financial administrator.⁷⁴

A committee appointed by the order cooperated with Aslanian in a fundamental revision of the Regulations of 1865 and the formulation of an elaborate set of rules. The new regulations,⁷⁵ which met with the approval of the general assembly of the order and of the national assembly at Constantinople, were based upon different principles and bore the stamp of Aslanian's knowledge of constitutional matters. The administration of the institution

was once again entrusted to the executive council, under the presidency of the patriarch. The council was responsible to the monastic general assembly, which in turn was accountable to the national assembly at Constantinople. It was to consist of major officeholders, each of whom was to act independently within his sphere and in accordance with the bylaws governing his office, and was responsible to the general assembly. In short, the council had the form of a cabinet in a parliamentary government. As for the composition of the general assembly, the regulations, for the first time, conferred upon ordained deacons the right to vote in its deliberations. The assembly's prerogatives included the election of the patriarchal candidates, the locum tenens, and the principal officials of the executive council; and the approval of reports submitted to it by the executive council.

The new regulations clearly curtailed the powers that the national administration had reserved to itself in the Regulations of 1865. The national assembly at Constantinople retained its rights to elect the patriarch of Jerusalem, but now from among two lists of nominees submitted by the general assembly of the order, the first consisting of seven candidates and the second of three candidates selected from the first list, one of whom was to be elected by the national assembly. Another change involved the patriarch's oath of office. According to the new provisions, if the electee was a bishop he was to take his oath of office before the order's general assembly; but if he was a vardapet he was, subsequent to his episcopal ordination at Etchmiadzin, to take his oath before the national assembly. The central authorities insisted on receipt of the executive council's annual report after its approval by the order's assembly; but they abandoned their control in the matters of negotiating loans and the sale and purchase of properties — powers which now were entrusted to the order's assembly.

The promulgation of the Regulations of 1880 raised high hopes both at Constantinople and Jerusalem for the future of the patriarchate and sparked a new spirit of enthusiasm among the monastics. By July 1881, however, this promising state of affairs had begun to show signs of imminent collapse. A closely knit group of five young monks, Ghewond Mak'sutian, Sahak Khapayian, Gēorg Erēts'ian, Gabriēl Anushian, and Vahan Hakobian, had assumed virtual control of the institution's executive council and general assembly. The most prominent among them was Mak'su-

tian who, both at Jerusalem and Constantinople, enjoyed the reputation of a capable administrator, particularly in economic and fiscal affairs. In addition to his office of chief financial administrator, he had gradually also assumed the chairmanships of the council and assembly.

A rift within the ranks of this group soon revealed that its unity had not been motivated by the general welfare of the institution. The rift was sparked by the arrival in July 1881 of Mak'sutian's brother, who planned to be married and settle in Jerusalem, contrary to the traditional restriction against relatives of monastics living in the city. In view of the opposition of the majority of the general assembly, Mak'sutian resigned from the order and departed for Beirut, where he performed the controversial wedding ceremony. Mak'sutian knew full well, however, that his cooperation would be urgently needed in the center's efforts to alleviate the imminent financial crisis in Jerusalem. Without consulting the authorities in Jerusalem, the central administration sent instructions that Mak'sutian should forthwith be reinstated as the see's financial director. Thus he returned to the monastery in triumph and reassumed his former post, and his signal victory helped to consolidate his position within the see. He held that position until 1905, during which time he was the virtual master of the institution.

By the time the incident was resolved, the see's liabilities had increased to 30,000 liras, and it was estimated that, at the prevailing ratio, this would increase to 45,000 liras within three years. Since the solicitation campaign had encountered much difficulty, the Armenian authorities took the unprecedented step in February 1883 of asking the government itself to collect, in behalf of the millet, a levy of three piasters from every Armenian within the empire along with the *askeri-bedel* (tax paid in lieu of military service) for three years, with the understanding that for the same duration the Porte should make an annual advance of 15,000 liras to the patriarchate. In June of the same year the Porte approved the plan in principle. It objected to the advance payments but agreed to the alternative of reimbursing the patriarchate, in gradual payments, the actual sums collected in the millet's levy. The operation of the plan, however, met with practical difficulties, chiefly because the two levies were not properly distinguished in the process of transmission to the central government, and in consequence no reimbursements were made to the patriarchate.⁷⁶

Following the death of Esayi in 1885, the order's assembly submitted to the central administration the list of its nominees, which made it clear that their choice was Bishop Harut'iun Vehapetian, the patriarch of Constantinople and a member of the order. The new patriarch did not resign his first office until the spring of 1889, for it had been deemed necessary for him to remain in the capital to pursue, among other things, the matter of securing the reimbursements from the Ottoman treasury. During his stay at Constantinople Vehapetian also took the initiative in having the regulations of 1880 revised. A draft of the revision was formulated by a special committee appointed by the monastic general assembly; it was approved in October 1886. The new regulations were finally ratified, with slight modifications, by the national assembly at Constantinople on March 18, 1888, and consequently are known as the Regulations of 1888.

The Regulations of 1888⁷⁷ extended, to some degree, the authority of the patriarch, curtailed that of the order's general assembly, and transferred some of the assembly's powers to the executive council, to which once again were entrusted all the executive functions. The provisions of 1880, which stipulated that the members of the executive council should be the principal officeholders of the see, were reversed. Officials who held offices for which they were accountable to the council were barred from membership on the council, and members of the council were barred from the chairmanship of the order's general assembly, to which the council was accountable. The power to purchase and sell properties and negotiate loans was transferred from the assembly to the council, which was also responsible for the quarterly examination of the see's financial status, the preparation of the annual budget, and the presentation to the assembly of its annual report, the financial statement, and the budget. The powers of the assembly were limited to electing the patriarchal candidates, the locum tenens and chief sacristan, and the members of the executive council; receiving and approving the annual report, budget and financial statements; and submitting a report to the national assembly at Constantinople.

THE CONTROVERSY OVER GHEWOND MAK'SUTIAN

Prior to his departure for Jerusalem Vehapetian succeeded in obtaining 20,000 liras in cash and promissory notes from the

government, representing a portion of its receipts in behalf of the Armenian millet.⁷⁸ The conservative Vehapetian, who had a natural talent for economics and finance, directed his major efforts toward the reorganization of the see's fiscal administration. He instituted a new policy whereby monks who invested personal assets in real properties were permitted to enjoy the proceeds during their lifetime but upon their death the assets were to be turned over to the see. He set a personal example by allocating his assets, estimated at 20,000 liras, toward the construction of revenue-yielding properties.

This policy brought Vehapetian closer to the chief financial administrator Mak'sutian. Yet their objectives were diametrically opposed; whereas Vehapetian was solely concerned about the see's fiscal solvency, Mak'sutian was interested only in enriching himself. Mak'sutian had complete charge of the see's financial administration and, contrary to the new regulations, was also a permanent member and chairman of the executive council. In this position Mak'sutian was able to keep the monastic order and the patriarch himself ignorant of the institution's financial situation.

During the years 1893-1895 Gabriël Anushian, a member of the executive council, pressed Mak'sutian for financial reports, particularly those involving new construction. Mak'sutian's refusal to submit the statements gradually made him suspect in the eyes of many monks. The crisis which ensued flared up at the meeting of the order's general assembly on June 12, 1902. The assembly had met to fill the vacancies on the executive council, but Mak'sutian's critics, who constituted a majority, refused to hold the elections until the financial statements had been submitted. When Vehapetian, too, failed in his attempts to prevail on Mak'sutian to comply with the demand, the patriarch himself began to doubt his protégé's integrity.

The mounting protests to the national authorities and the ensuing bitter polemics in the Armenian press eventually compelled the intervention of Patriarch Örmanian and his administration in the affairs of the patriarchate of Jerusalem. The see's internal administration was a matter which fell within the jurisdiction of the see and its executive council, but the question of the administration of its finances fell within the province of the central administration, since the provisions of the regulations of Jerusalem held the monastic assembly accountable to the center.

There was another reason which suggested intervention: whenever the see's financial obligations reached a critical stage it was invariably the millet as a whole which met them.

Accordingly, in March 1903 Ōrmanian urged Vehapetian to send immediately the financial reports for the recent years, and to dispatch Mak'sutian and some representatives of his critics to present their respective views.⁷⁹ The supporters of Mak'sutian employed every means to obstruct both suggestions. They sought to have Mak'sutian exonerated without an examination of his accounts and accused the opposition of being under the influence of ecclesiastics allegedly disloyal to the Ottoman state. Despite these machinations, the executive secretary of the patriarchate of Constantinople, Bart'ogh T'elian, was sent to Jerusalem in September with the express task of investigating the see's administrative and fiscal situation and securing its financial statements.

Upon his return to the capital in November T'elian confirmed Mak'sutian's clandestine financial dealings; affirmed the complete falsity of his supporters' allegations of disloyalty; and testified to the heavy liabilities incurred by the institution.⁸⁰ The situation was doubtless serious enough to warrant the dispatch of two duly authorized representatives, Gēorg Aslanian, chairman of the patriarchate's economic council and a high-ranking official in the Ottoman ministry of public works, and Karapet Khach'aturian, director of the patriarchate's public relations office. Both arrived in Jerusalem in June 1904. Their mission was to secure the see's financial reports and to reorganize the monastic administration in accordance with the institution's regulations. When Mak'sutian failed to comply with Patriarch Vehapetian's repeated urgings to submit his reports to these representatives he was dismissed from office and, through the concerted efforts of Patriarchs Ōrmanian and Vehapetian, was compelled by the government to proceed to Constantinople in May 1905 to give a personal accounting of his financial activities.⁸¹

A special auditing committee appointed by the central administration completed its investigations in February 1907. Its report revealed that the liabilities of the see of Jerusalem amounted to 32,627 liras as a result of loans obtained at high-interest rates, deficit spending, and unchecked construction activities. And, most importantly, it held Mak'sutian personally responsible. It

recommended the preparation of the see's complete financial statements from 1893 onwards, including those involving the construction, sale, or purchase of real properties, which Mak'sutian had failed to account for; a detailed listing of revenues and expenditures, properties and other possessions, and the amounts owed to creditors; and, finally, the dispatch of two duly authorized representatives to Jerusalem to carry out these proposals.⁸² A thorough investigation of the ledgers revealed what had long been suspected by the majority of the monastics, namely, that Mak'sutian refused to submit financial statements in order to conceal his large-scale embezzlements, whose magnitude was impossible to ascertain.⁸³

The commission's reports were approved by the general assembly of the monastic order and were then submitted to the national administration. Action on the part of the national administration was long delayed, however, by the proclamation of the Turkish Constitution in 1908 and the resultant changes in the administration of the Armenian patriarchate at Constantinople. Finally in December 1908 the reconstituted national assembly appointed an auditing committee, which, after an intensive examination of the available records and after hearing Mak'sutian's own explanations, concluded that Mak'sutian owed the treasury of Jerusalem the sum of 13,966 liras.⁸⁴ In November 1909 the national assembly approved the report and instructed the central administration to collect Mak'sutian's monetary obligation. Further internal complications at Jerusalem in this and in subsequent years and the tragic events of the First World War prevented the implementation of the resolution. Despite the preponderance of evidence to the contrary, Mak'sutian persisted in refusing to acknowledge his guilt.⁸⁵ There can be little doubt, however, that his total embezzlements far exceeded the amount for which he was held accountable.⁸⁶

The Mak'sutian crisis impelled a revision of the Regulations of 1888. In 1907 the general assembly of the order approved a new draft, whose principal changes included the provision that the chief sacristan of the see of Jerusalem should be elected for life, and the barring of this official and the director of finance from membership in the executive council. The central administration at Constantinople tentatively approved most of the changes in the draft, and permitted the institution to put the

instrument into effect pending its ratification by the national assembly. Patriarch Ōrmanian prepared a memorandum⁸⁷ in which he suggested the incorporation into the regulations of forty-five additional rules which for the most part dealt with monastic behavior and obligations and disciplinary measures. None of these recommendations, however, was actually carried out.

THE IMPACT OF LIBERALISM ON THE PATRIARCHATE

The promulgation of the Turkish Constitution raised high hopes among the minorities of the empire and gave rise to sentiments which had a distinct effect on the patriarchates of Constantinople and Jerusalem. At the capital Ōrmanian was replaced by the nationalist-liberal Matt'ēos Izmirlian in the patriarchal office; and at Jerusalem the pro-Mak'sutian group began to agitate for control of the patriarchate. A number of monks who had been expelled from the institution were now pardoned. Patriarch Vehapetian, now ninety years old but still mentally alert, sought to quiet the antagonists and even asked for a vigorous assistant from Constantinople. Nevertheless, the agitators gradually grew stronger and endeavored to impose their will upon the institution through the intervention of governor Subhi Bey, who lent them ample encouragement.

The central administration did not, and probably could not, follow the situation in Jerusalem closely. Moreover, Patriarch Izmirlian was not disposed to intervene lest he be accused of attempting to meddle in the internal affairs of Jerusalem. The only action taken by the national assembly was to recommend that the central administration send a delegation to Jerusalem to prevent any disturbance. Despite the repeated demands of the agitators, Vehapetian was unwilling to expedite the return of the expellees, for he was apprehensive that they might augment the ranks of the opposition. On November 20, 1908, however, the rebels effected their coup and gained control of the patriarchate, and Vehapetian was compelled to succumb to their pressures. They elected a new executive council consisting of members belonging to the group, and replaced all the other officials of the see. So complete was their control that the loyal monastics had no choice but to leave for Jaffa and await the arrival of the center's delegates.

Patriarch Izmirlian and the central administration rejected Vehapetian's resignation, which he submitted immediately after the coup. Instead, they sent a commission to Jerusalem on January 27, 1909, which soon concluded that the monastery had become a "den of frauds and knaves" led from without. Failing in their mission to bring these elements under control, the commission returned to Jaffa. In their report to the center they recommended the appointment of a competent and strong deputy to the aged Vehapetian.⁸⁸ In the meantime, however, Patriarch Izmirlian had left office, and therefore no action was taken in the capital.

The departure of the delegation and the loyal group of monastics left the rebels in complete control of the institution. The monastic general assembly passed many resolutions which were clearly designed to consolidate their position, and the hapless Vehapetian was powerless to withstand them.⁸⁹ Reports were current that they even considered severing their relations with the sees of Constantinople and Etchmiadzin and placing the patriarchate of Jerusalem under the jurisdiction of the Cilician see, whose incumbent, Sahak Khapayian, seemed to be ready to give them official protection.⁹⁰

After evaluating the delegation's report and the protests of the loyal monks the central administration, as a "practical remedy" for the confused situation at Jerusalem, took the unprecedented and strange measure, on June 10, 1909, of indicting Patriarch Vehapetian. The indictment⁹¹ charged him with failing to implement the see's regulations and with violating its provisions; it also found him responsible for the disorders. It suggested that because of his old age and physical weakness he could no longer effectively perform the duties of his office. Vehapetian's immediate condemnation and deposition was recommended. On July 17 the national assembly resolved to remove the patriarch from office and to allow him to remain in Jerusalem without exercising patriarchal powers but retaining the title and its concomitant honors.⁹²

There seems to be little doubt that these measures were based upon a superficial examination of the crisis and were motivated by a desire for a speedy resolution. It is equally apparent that the national assembly's action was ill-conceived and ill-suited to the demands of the situation. Vehapetian's inability to arrest the crisis did not result from his lack of willingness to have the regu-

lations implemented; on the contrary, his predicament stemmed from the complete domination of the rebels. The circumstances of the crisis did not necessitate his deposition; rather, it was the duty of the central authorities to attempt to strengthen his position and authority by expelling the insurgent leaders.⁹³

Equally impractical and ineffective was the national assembly's election of Daniël Hakobian, a member of the order of St. James who was serving as prelate of the bishopric of Adrianople, as *locum tenens* of the patriarchate of Jerusalem.⁹⁴ Neither his personal qualifications nor his administrative record could inspire any hope of resolving the confused and complicated situation in the see; indeed, his only asset seemed to be the fact that he had not participated in the disorders, and therefore did not belong to either of the two contending parties. Daniël's own recognition of his inequality to the task is suggested by the stipulations which he put forth prior to assuming the post. These included the banishment from Jerusalem of the insurgent leaders and the appointment of a capable individual to assist him in the performance of his duties.⁹⁵

Daniël's incompetence was underscored by the central administration's decision to appoint not one but three assistants. All these measures, however, remained in abeyance because of the grave situation in the capital resulting from the massacres of Armenians in Cilicia. Finally on December 14, 1909, Daniël and the center's two official delegates, Pargew P'ap'azian and Tiran Martikian, arrived at Jaffa where they met the sizable numbers of loyal monastics. When these officials arrived in Jerusalem on December 16, they learned that the monastic general assembly controlled by the rebellious monks had already passed a resolution rejecting the *locum tenens* of Daniël. Patriarch Vehapetian was unable to compel the monks to respect the mission of the center's representatives. In view of these circumstances and of the reluctance of the local Ottoman authorities to intervene in the matter, Daniël, P'ap'azian, and Martikian returned to Jaffa on January 18, 1910, to await further instructions from the capital.⁹⁶

In the meantime Manuk Azarian, chairman of the newly constituted central administration at Constantinople, had succeeded in securing from the government strict orders respecting the banishment of three rebel leaders to Constantinople, the installation of the *locum tenens*, and the exile of monks who would dare

to oppose these instructions. As a result of this and more particularly of the effective intervention of the military authorities and the powerful local Ittihad group, the insurgents were compelled to surrender. On January 30, 1910, the locum tenens, the center's delegates, and the loyal monks who had assembled at Jaffa entered the monastery in triumph.⁹⁷ Thus ended the unfortunate episode, which for so long had disturbed the peace of the millet and which had cost the patriarchate of Jerusalem so much, both morally and financially. The monastic executive council was reorganized, and the various administrative offices were filled. The most ticklish question of Patriarch Vehapetian's position within the institution was resolved in a most tactful manner; neither he nor the locum tenens, P'ap'azian, and the monastics made any reference to the national assembly's resolution of his deposition, until his death on October 5, 1910.⁹⁸

These measures helped to restore normalcy in the institution and to endow it with an orderly administration, but they were at best temporary arrangements. A fundamental remedy to prevent the recurrence of the recent disorders was needed, and the central authorities felt it was their obligation to take the initiative in this regard. The task of formulating such a remedy was entrusted to two members of the central administration, Hayk Khōjasarian and Sargis Suin. And P'ap'azian was asked to prepare, in consultation with the local monastics, another plan based on his own experiences. The plan devised by Khōjasarian and Suin called for the adoption of the regulations of 1888 as the basic law of the institution.⁹⁹ It recommended the reorganization of the institution's specific administrative functions; suggested a new and thorough investigation of the patriarchate's financial records for the years 1893-1908; urged that the function of the locum tenens be strengthened; and suggested the implementation of rules designed to guarantee reform and the institution's general welfare. The plan submitted by P'ap'azian¹⁰⁰ recommended the adoption of a budgetary policy; the cessation of further negotiation of loans; the sale of real holdings in distant lands yielding little or no income; the reduction of expenditures for the native Armenian population; and greater efforts toward improving the monastic and parochial schools and the printing press. That the central authorities concurred in these two plans suggests that they did not seek to curtail the rights and jurisdictions

of the patriarchate of Jerusalem and its monastic order. Rather, they seem to have been desirous of improving and reforming its administration through the strict application of regulations.

P'ap'azian remained at Jerusalem as the duly authorized representative of the center and assistant to the locum tenens until the beginning of May 1910. During his three months' sojourn there he was the institution's actual administrator. The pacification of the monastic order encouraged Daniël to seek episcopal ordination, which the central authorities had previously approved. With the arrival of Bishop Trdat Palian in Jerusalem on April 20, 1910, as temporary administrator of the see during the absence of the locum tenens, both Daniël and P'ap'azian left the city, the first to journey to Etchmiadzin for his episcopal consecration and the second en route to Constantinople. When Patriarch Vehapetian died in October the central authorities did not deem it opportune to permit the monastic general assembly to elect a locum tenens in accordance with the provisions of the National Constitution. Rather, they reaffirmed Daniël, who had been consecrated as bishop on September 19, to continue in the same office.¹⁰¹

Beginning in 1909 the authorities at Constantinople made a number of attempts to revise the 1888 regulations of the see. A new set of regulations was finally drawn up and approved by the national assembly on December 7, 1913. The Regulations of 1913,¹⁰² formulated and promulgated without consulting the monastic order of St. James, provided for a much stricter control by the central administration over the affairs of the patriarchate of Jerusalem. The patriarchate's executive council, composed of major officeholders, was to be chosen by the order's general assembly. Its jurisdictions were limited to religious and administrative affairs alone, and in the final analysis it was accountable to the central authorities. The institution was to have a separate economic council whose members were to be appointed directly by the authorities in Constantinople. Within the limits of an annual budget this council was to be in charge of the see's financial and economic administration; yet it could not sell properties or negotiate loans without the prior consent of the center. Moreover, the council was to be responsible to a "special body for control of the affairs of Jerusalem" to be established at Constantinople, a body which was designed to exercise a closer surveillance over the see's financial and economic

affairs. The most important change provided by the new regulations was the provision guaranteeing the national assembly's direct control of the patriarchate of Jerusalem through a permanent representative appointed by it. This representative was to enjoy no executive functions, but his consent was mandatory before any decision could be implemented.

These restrictive stipulations were of course most objectionable to the monastics, who chose to regard the Regulations of 1888 as still in effect. The principle of an executive council made up of major officeholders had been the basis of the Regulations of 1880, and although this system was changed in 1888 it nevertheless continued in practice. It had certain obvious merits, notably the fact that the administration thereby was entrusted to ecclesiastics who were most qualified and who were directly responsible for their individual areas. The system had its drawbacks as well, primarily because the vestiture of major officeholders with great authority might tend, in practice, to curtail the authority of the patriarch. Moreover, the new arrangement was to a certain degree incompatible with the monastic system. The appointment of all major and lesser officials from among the ranks of the monastic order was an age-old tradition. Little wonder, then, that the Regulations of 1913 were considered by the monastics to be most objectionable and disruptive in that they provided that the major functionaries were to be appointed from outside the order's own ranks and even without any consultation with them.

In actual practice, the administration of the patriarchate was organized much as the other Armenian monastic institutions. The major functionaries were responsible for their particular administrative areas. In matters of importance affecting the performance of their duties, they sought the advice, instructions, or consent of the patriarch, who acted as chief executive. The patriarch, in turn, brought issues of major significance before the executive council, or in urgent circumstances took whatever action he personally deemed appropriate and then notified the council.

The relationship between the central authorities at Constantinople and the see of Jerusalem, however, was somewhat different from that between Constantinople and the provincial administrations or bishoprics of the Armenian millet. For many cen-

turies, the patriarchate of Jerusalem had maintained direct contacts with local political authorities and with the authorities of Damascus, Beirut, Acre, Jaffa, and Egypt, that is, in the regions where the Armenian communities were under its jurisdiction. It had also had direct dealings with the imperial palace and the ministries at Constantinople, as well as with the pontifical see at Etchmiadzin and with foreign authorities. Nevertheless, there were at least two major practical reasons why the see of Jerusalem had to maintain the closest possible contact with the patriarchate of Constantinople and the central administration: first, the necessity of guaranteeing the integrity of the Armenian millet, and second, the need for moral and financial backing of the community as a whole to help protect the Armenian possessions and rights to the Holy Places. The Armenian National Constitution stipulated that the see of Jerusalem be directly responsible to the national assembly in the capital. With regard to its accountability to the national assembly in financial matters the constitution was silent. During the recent Mak'sutian and subsequent crises the central administration did acquire the privilege of supervising Jerusalem's finances. On the whole, however, the national assembly respected the traditional primacy of the see of Jerusalem — principally on account of its unique position as custodian of the Holy Places — over the patriarchate of Constantinople whose powers were primarily civil in character. In short, the patriarchate of Jerusalem was a distinct and independent institution and its administration enjoyed unique privileges and jurisdictions.

It is clear that the Regulations of 1913 in effect sought to curtail or even abolish this special status of the patriarchate of Jerusalem.¹⁰³ Not only did the order of St. James refuse to accept the Regulations of 1913, but it expelled from Jerusalem the locum tenens Bishop Daniël and the center's special representative who had arrived to assist the monastics in electing the patriarchal candidates. In May 1914 the central authorities appointed the former patriarch of Constantinople, Maghak'ia Örmanian, as delegate-extraordinary to the see of Jerusalem to administer its affairs in collaboration with the institution's executive council. This arrangement was to last until circumstances permitted the election of a patriarch and the see's duly constituted functionaries.¹⁰⁴

But the events following the outbreak of World War I brought about a drastic change in the status not only of the patriarchate of Jerusalem but of all the Armenian sees in the empire. In August 1916 the Turkish authorities promulgated a new law which created a single ecclesiastical hierarchy, under Catholicos Sahak Khapayian of Cilicia, with its headquarters at Jerusalem. This arrangement was short-lived, for upon the termination of hostilities the separate sees were restored, but in consequence of these upheavals their mutual relations underwent a radical change. The patriarchate of Constantinople lost its pre-eminent ecclesiastical and civil authority as a result of the disintegration of the Ottoman empire and the decimation of a large proportion of the Armenians of Asia Minor and Cilicia. The catholicosate of Cilicia was reorganized in the French mandated territories of Syria and Lebanon, its jurisdiction extending over the Armenians of Turkey who had found refuge in these lands. The patriarchate of Jerusalem emerged as a completely independent institution within the general framework of the catholicosate of Etchmiadzin.

The provisional regime at Jerusalem continued until the year 1921, when the monastic order elected the former patriarch of Constantinople Eghishē Durian as patriarch of the historic see, thereby ushering in a new era in its long and chequered history. In 1929 the patriarchate voluntarily conceded its authority over the Armenian communities of Damascus, Latakia, and Beirut and placed its ecclesiastical holdings — the monasteries, churches, and schools — in those areas at the disposal of the reconstituted catholicosate of Cilicia.¹⁰⁵ Thus its jurisdiction was confined to the communities of the Holy Land. This new arrangement, however, in no way affected the patriarchate's major function and historic mission, namely, the guardianship and custodianship of the Armenian possessions in the Holy Places.

CHAPTER VI

The Jurisdictional Scope of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem

AS IN THE PAST so also under Ottoman rule, the administrative jurisdiction of the patriarchate of Jerusalem extended not only over the Armenian monastic and secular communities in the Holy Land, but also over the small and scattered communities in Transjordan, the provinces of Damascus and Beirut, and the bishoprics of Egypt and Cyprus. As leader of the monophysite group of Christian churches, the patriarchate extended its protection, as well, over the small Jacobite Syrian, Coptic, and Abyssinian communities in the Holy Land, notably in the Holy City.

THE COMMUNITIES IN THE HOLY LAND AND TRANSJORDAN

From time immemorial there had been in Bethlehem an Armenian community — ecclesiastic as well as secular — to oversee the Armenian interests in the Nativity cathedral, which was owned jointly with the Greek community. A monastery adjacent to the cathedral housed the ecclesiastics and accommodated pilgrims. These facilities were enlarged a number of times, particularly during the incumbency of Patriarch Grigor Parontēr, who in 1621 purchased the nearby khan and other buildings attached to the original monastery. He also added a small church dedicated to St. Mary, a special patriarchal residence, additional rooms for the accommodation of pilgrims, a dining hall for the monastics, and a bakery. An orchard and a vegetable garden provided for the immediate needs of the residents. The monastery was administered in behalf of the patriarchate of Jerusalem by an appointed *tesuch'* (superintendent or rector), who also had immediate charge

over the local monastics and supervised the vigilant performance of services in the cathedral of the Nativity. In early times this office was entrusted to a bishop but later was held more often than not by vardapets.¹

The secular Armenian community at Bethlehem was perhaps as old as the ecclesiastical, for its presence was indispensable for the protection of the Armenian possessions in the Nativity cathedral. Particularly because of the Greeks' consistent efforts to deprive the Armenians of their privileges and holdings, the secular community was often called upon to render whatever assistance the monastics deemed necessary. In the beginning of the seventeenth century the Greeks sought to gain complete and sole control of the cathedral on the grounds that the Armenian secular community at Bethlehem was nonexistent; they also attempted to prevent Patriarch Grigor Parontēr's expansion of the monastery. The monk Khorēn Mkhit'arian asserts, presumably on the basis of documentary evidence available in the patriarchal archives of Jerusalem, that Grigor endeavored to increase the Armenian population of Bethlehem by dispatching there the lay monastic Hakob Mushets'i. He is said to have married Hakob to a Latin woman and to have provided them with a dwelling and other needs. The more than one hundred Armenians comprising the community there in 1875 are allegedly descended from this couple. In addition there were at this time twelve Armenians who had emigrated there from Kerak. As a further measure to enhance the growth of the community, in the 1850's Patriarch Hovhannēs permitted the marriage of relatives only three generations removed; this was designed to discourage intermarriage of Armenians with other Christians.²

By far the single most important pilgrim station was the port of Jaffa, which had an Armenian *hogetun* (hospice) and a monastery. It is claimed that the monastery of St. Nikoghayos (St. Nicholas) existed as early as the time of the Arab conquest of Palestine in the first half of the seventh century.³ In view of the lack of documentary or other evidence this assertion is by no means certain, but there seems to be little doubt about the establishment's antiquity.

According to Armenian tradition the monastery of St. Nicholas stood very close to the house of Simon the Tanner, where the apostle Peter stayed during his sojourn at Jaffa and where he

had the vision recorded in the New Testament.⁴ In 1663 Patriarch Eghiazar of Jerusalem enlarged the monastery by purchasing a number of buildings adjacent to it, including six warehouses belonging to the Ottoman governor of Gaza.⁵ Some thirty years later the Arab historian and poet 'Abd al-Ghani al-Nabulusi (1641–1731), who had traveled in Damascus, Egypt, and Arabia, visited Jaffa and together with his companions enjoyed the warm hospitality of the Armenian monastery. He describes the institution with glowing terms, especially 'its solid construction which he likens to an impregnable fort with ramparts and towers – a structure unequaled in all of Jaffa.⁶ In the first half of the eighteenth century additional properties adjacent to the monastery and a plot of land on the seashore were acquired through the efforts of Patriarch Grigor Shght'ayakir; and in 1727 the Constantinopolitan magnate Seghbos Amira Erewanents', the *bash-bazirgan* (chief procurer) of the grand vizier, bought an orchard and built a khan whose annual proceeds he earmarked for the needs of the monastery.⁷ In 1725 the southern portion of the monastery collapsed causing considerable damage. Two years later Patriarch Grigor Shght'ayakir succeeded in restoring it, after having obtained a permit from the authorities with much difficulty.⁸

Along with much of the rest of the city a number of the buildings belonging to the monastery of St. Nicholas were reduced to ruins by Napoleon's army after he had failed in an attempt to occupy Acre. Like other Christian monasteries of the city, the Armenian institution was used as a hospital for the troops who had been afflicted by the plague, and Napoleon frequently visited them there. In addition a fine of 100 purses of silver was extracted from it.⁹ In due course the damages were repaired. Moreover, in the 1820's the institution's property holdings were considerably increased through the munificence of the Armenian notable Murat Agha who served as consul of the governments of Naples and Sardinia at Jaffa. His bequests to the monastery included an extensive orchard on the outskirts of Jaffa, which in the 1850's Patriarch Hovhannēs exchanged for certain properties at Jerusalem; the new Armenian cemetery with its adjoining orchards; and a large house, called Bayt al-Frank, in the city.¹⁰

Among the many pestilences which intermittently took a heavy toll of lives the plague of 1838 in Palestine was especially grave.

As a precautionary measure against the spread of the disease to other parts of his empire, Sultan Mahmut II issued urgent orders for the establishment of quarantines in various regions. One such isolation area, intended for the forty-day confinement of pilgrims and other travelers, was set up at Jaffa on the land once used as a Christian cemetery. Upon objections to the choice of site and at the suggestion of the local public health authorities, the Greek, Latin, and Armenian communities were permitted to establish separate quarantines in their respective cemeteries, if each provided for maintenance and for the stipends of the general superintendent and other public health officials appointed by the authorities for these establishments. The Armenian monastery already possessed a quarantine which they restored and put into operation. After the plague, which was finally checked in 1839, the Ottoman authorities confiscated the Armenian quarantine; all the efforts of the patriarchate to recover it were to no avail.¹¹

In spite of such incidents, by the end of the nineteenth century the Armenian monastery at Jaffa had become one of the most important centers of the patriarchate. In the early years of the 1890's its property holdings were considerably augmented through the personal munificence of Patriarch Harut'yun Vehapetian who constructed a number of new revenue-yielding dwellings and built some thirty stores in one of the principal shopping centers, which came to be known as Suq al-Arman.¹²

The monastery and its properties were always managed for the patriarchate by an appointed clerical superintendent, who was assisted by other ecclesiastics, a dragoman, a guard, and servants. Their principal task was to lodge and care for the needs of pilgrims en route to and from the Holy City. In compensation for these services each pilgrim paid a prescribed sum of money, which generally was earmarked for the maintenance of the monastic institutions at Jaffa and Ramle.¹³ In the course of its long history, particularly under the Ottomans, the ecclesiastical institution at Jaffa and the small local Armenian community suffered severely at the hands of local officials.¹⁴ It is remarkable that despite the constant harassments and coercions they were able not only to survive but also to maintain their institution and possessions and even extend their holdings.

Near Jaffa, the principal port of entry for pilgrims arriving by ship, the town of Ramle had always been an important way sta-

tion. Here the Armenian patriarchate had established an ecclesiastical institution. The monastery's founding is generally attributed to the seventeenth-century Patriarch Eghiazar, but it seems more logical to assume that it antedates his incumbency. Eghiazar did build the monastery's church of St. George; purchase some dwellings, warehouses, and plots of land adjacent to it; and construct larger and more comfortable facilities for the Armenian pilgrims. He also sought to win over the local Muslims, who were likely to harass the Armenian institution, by restoring their mosque and allocating to it an annual gift from the proceeds of the Armenian monastery.¹⁵

In later times other properties were added, notably under Patriarch Grigor Shght'ayakir. In his description of the monastery in 1730 Hannē asserts that it had a managerial office, a winery, and an orchard of lemon trees, and that it was inhabited by monastics all year round and in the pilgrimage season by transients.¹⁶ In 1833 Archbishop Karapet Ewdokiats'i, who had been a nuncio of the see of Jerusalem in Astrakhan and India, donated a large orchard and an olive grove, which were further expanded by purchases of adjacent orchards in 1867 and 1880 through the benefactions of the monks At'anas and Bart'oghimēos, respectively; these gifts totaled some two hundred acres. During his term of office as superintendent of the monastery at Ramle from 1876–1907, Bart'oghimēos also donated a house, stores, and an orchard.¹⁷ The monastery and its properties were always managed by a clerical administrator appointed by the see of Jerusalem, whose responsibilities included spiritual solace to pilgrims.

At Gaza there was an Armenian monastery and church dedicated to the archangels Gabriel and Michael, as well as a hospice where the Armenian pilgrims from the sizable community in Egypt lodged and rested before continuing their journey to the Holy City. It is generally believed that these institutions were founded during the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem,¹⁸ but there is no historical record supporting this claim.

The historian A. Tēr-Hovhannēsians' asserts that in the year 1663 Patriarch Eghiazar of Jerusalem "built a church at Gaza in the name of the Archangels; but later on, due to negligence, it was destroyed by the Arabs; some of the ruins can still be seen there."¹⁹ This statement is erroneous. In 1647 a court *hüccet* issued at Gaza permitted the restoration of this church, which was situated in the Suq al-Khidir. Eghiazar's contribution was the

enlarging of the establishment through the purchase of a number of houses and orchards adjacent to the monastery and church.²⁰

The monastery was still in operation in 1730 when Hannē wrote his history of Jerusalem.²¹ By the mid-nineteenth century, however, it was in ruins and abandoned; the circumstances of this development are unknown. It is known that in the mid-nineteenth century the institution's lands were confiscated by a native inhabitant, and that the patriarchate succeeded in retrieving it with much difficulty. In 1854 the property was apparently rented, for some natives were directed to pay forty piasters annually to the patriarchate of Jerusalem.²²

The Armenians at Gaza were harassed by local Muslims, particularly in the beginning of the eighteenth century, when bandits constantly attacked their funeral processions. In 1706 the patriarchate secured an imperial edict prohibiting these lawless acts. The Armenians were also harassed by other local Christians in this period. M. Aghawnuni conjectures that these Christians were probably the Arab Orthodox and Copts, whose churches were adjacent to the monastery of the Archangels.²³

The Armenian communities which were established in Transjordan during the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem continued to exist until about the middle of the nineteenth century. As early as the seventeenth century, however, their numbers had begun to diminish because of emigrations to New Julfa in Persia, Jerusalem, and Europe, notably Italy, and because of assimilation with the native populations. The Armenian churches at Kerak and Salt were either confiscated by or abandoned to the local Greeks, or, as some have conjectured, destroyed by the natives.²⁴ It is not clear whether these communities were under the jurisdiction of the patriarchate of Jerusalem. Their distance from the other hierarchical sees of the Armenian church, however, suggests that the authorities at Jerusalem exercised control over them, particularly beginning in the fourteenth century when the dominions of the Mamelukes of Egypt constituted the see's jurisdictional limits.

THE COMMUNITIES AT BEIRUT, DAMASCUS, AND LATAKIA AND THE HOSPICE AT ALEPPO

The patriarchate of Jerusalem also assumed responsibility for the non-Uniate Armenian community at Beirut. To meet the spiritual needs of the small local community and to provide

adequate facilities for pilgrims traveling via Beirut, Patriarch Hovhannēs founded a monastery in the city, with a small chapel dedicated to the Holy Cross (St. Nshan), in 1851. This was made possible through a donation of 125,000 piasters by deacon Hovsēp' of Ayntab, a member of the monastic order of St. James at Jerusalem.²⁵ The monastery and its church and parochial school were administered by spiritual superintendents appointed by the see, in association with a popularly elected executive council.²⁶

The Armenian community in Beirut led a peaceful life until the outbreak of World War I. In 1914 the monastery of St. Nshan, the prelacy building, and the adjacent plot of land were confiscated by the local authorities; the buildings were later demolished under the pretext that the government planned to construct a new prison on the site. As a result, liturgical services were discontinued and the parochial schools were shut down. Subsequent to the armistice of 1918 the French mandatory authorities returned these properties to the Armenian community, which in 1919 rebuilt the church.²⁷

It is perhaps safe to assume that even before the Arab conquest Damascus served as a way station for pilgrims from Armenia. It can also be surmised that as elsewhere an Armenian ecclesiastical institution had been established to meet the spiritual needs of the small local community and to provide facilities for the comfort of the pilgrims. By the mid-seventh century there was an Armenian cultural center at Damascus where some monks engaged in intellectual pursuits, as evidenced by the translation into Armenian of St. Basil's Discourses by the monk Dawit' Tarōnets'i in 661, at the behest of Prince Hamazasp Mamikonian, whom the Arabs had appointed governor of Armenia in 658.²⁸ The continued existence of an Armenian community at Damascus cannot be ascertained. It is certain, however, that the small community found there during Mameluke rule was under the spiritual and administrative authority of the patriarchate of Jerusalem.²⁹

The nucleus of the Armenian community at Damascus was the monastery of St. Sargis. The exact date of the construction of this monastery is unknown, but the fact that it was restored in 1617, during the incumbency of Patriarch Grigor Parontēr of Jerusalem, suggests that it was built at the latest in the sixteenth century. Grigor also added a hospice and a number of cells for the convenience of pilgrims.³⁰ A century later, in 1720, Patriarch Grigor

Shght'ayakir made important restorations in the monastery and church and paid all the debts that had been incurred by the local ecclesiastical community.³¹

The ecclesiastical and community affairs at Damascus were administered by clerical superintendents appointed by the see of Jerusalem. In the 1740's members of the secular community gained control of the local monastery and its properties and challenged the authority of the patriarchate and its representatives, whom they sent back to Jerusalem. When admonishments proved ineffective Patriarch Grigor Shght'ayakir, in an encyclical dated July 28, 1748, reminded them that the monastery, hospice, and properties were the rightful possessions not of the local community but of the patriarchate, which had always endeavored to meet the needs of Damascus and the transient pilgrims. In conclusion he warned that no one, on pain of anathema, should interfere in the affairs of the ecclesiastical institution without the consent of the see; that no one should betray the see's interests by incurring financial obligations; and that henceforth no one should disobey the ecclesiastical superintendents appointed by the authorities at Jerusalem.³²

In view of the lack of evidence to the contrary, it can be assumed that the monastery of St. Sargis continued to function without any serious mishap until the 1850's. In the beginning of the nineteenth century it was again restored through the munificence of two local magnates, the physician Khocha Lut'vi and the dragoman Dawit'. Lut'vi also served as the administrator of the monastery, hospice, and the other properties of the institution.³³ In 1853 Patriarch Hovhannēs appointed as spiritual administrator of the Damascene community Mkrtich' K'ēfsizian, a monk who had been relieved as chief dragoman at Jerusalem because he was using his position for personal aggrandizement and profit. The appointment, to last one year, was tantamount to banishment.

At Damascus K'ēfsizian continued to flout the patriarch's instructions. His independence of action is underscored by the fact that after restoring the church of St. Sargis he took the uncanonical step of reconsecrating it himself — a prerogative which belonged only to those who held an episcopal rank. Moreover, with a view to collecting donations from the pilgrims, he renamed the church St. Gikhadir, the name of a revered sanctuary in the cathedral of St. James at Jerusalem. With the support and en-

couragement of the local community K'ēfsizian continued to ignore the patriarch's warnings. At his instigation the community requested the extension of his term of office for another year. When the patriarch refused to comply and insisted on his immediate return to Jerusalem K'ēfsizian not only took refuge in the French consulate, but also threatened to sever the community's ties with the see of Jerusalem and establish an independent bishopric. He even incited the people to join the Roman Catholic church. At Patriarch Hovhannēs' behest and contrary to the protestations of the French consul, K'ēfsizian was finally arrested by the Turkish governor and dispatched in chains to Jerusalem. After being kept under close surveillance for a few months he was dismissed from membership in the monastic order and in 1856 exiled to Constantinople.³⁴

Along with the other Christian communities of Damascus the Armenians suffered heavy losses in consequence of the violent attacks by the local Muslims in 1860. During these bloody massacres the Armenian monastery and church, the prelacy building, and the hospice were looted, set on fire, and finally completely destroyed.³⁵ Following the cessation of the insurgence an Ottoman investigative commission, headed by Fuat Pasha, duly punished many of the perpetrators of atrocities against the Christian population, and the communities were compensated from the imperial treasury for the losses they had incurred. Such a compensation was made to the Armenian community to restore its monastery, but the remuneration was far less than the actual total damage.³⁶ The restoration of the church was completed in 1869,³⁷ but the monastery remained in ruins for some years to come.³⁸

Despite K'ēfsizian's obstructive efforts the Damascus community remained under the jurisdiction of Jerusalem until the end of World War I. As elsewhere the spiritual administrators and clerical assistants were appointed by the see. In the second half of the nineteenth century, however, an executive council consisting of five members elected by the people and accountable to the community and the patriarchate cooperated with the ecclesiastical representatives in the management of the local institution. In the main, the community's financial needs were met by the proceeds from the monastery's properties, which yielded an annual income of some 100 liras.³⁹

Like Aleppo and Damascus, Latakia served as an important

pilgrim station. The local community and its ecclesiastical institution, as well as the facilities provided for pilgrims, must have come under the jurisdiction of the see of Jerusalem no later than the beginning of the fourteenth century. According to an inscription the present hospice at Latakia was built in 1755 by Hakob Amuja, a jeweler by trade who had joined the monastic order of St. James.⁴⁰ The monastery's small church of St. Mary was constructed in 1776 with a gift from an unknown Constantinopolitan Armenian. The monastery itself included a complex of twenty-four rooms and a spacious garden. The institution also owned houses and stores which had been acquired by the patriarchate of Jerusalem. Clerical representatives appointed by the see attended to the spiritual needs and administrative affairs of the local community and of the communities in its immediate vicinity; they also endeavored to provide facilities for pilgrims en route to the Holy Land.

The monastery and its properties were frequently jeopardized by the harassments of the local Ottoman officials and Muslim inhabitants. During the reign of Patriarch Tēodoros (1752–1761), for instance, the district governor of Latakia forcibly occupied the hospice and converted it into a military barracks. The church was shut down, and the administrator was forced to flee to Jerusalem. Later the Armenians were expelled from the city and the properties of the hospice were destroyed. The patriarch requested the national authorities at Constantinople to confirm the edict regarding the Armenian possessions in Latakia, previously issued by Sultan Mustafa III, to have the troops removed from the premises, and to issue strict orders preventing such encroachments in the future.⁴¹ The patriarchate seems to have been successful.

According to an inscription in the monastery these properties were again confiscated; but in 1818 they were recovered for the institution by the ecclesiastic Hovhannēs Rabuni, nuncio of the Armenian diocese of Van, during a visit to Latakia.⁴² The inscription fails to mention who had confiscated them; it can only be surmised that they were appropriated either by the local ruling authorities or by some native Muslim usurpers. In 1826 the governor of Latakia again stationed troops in the hospice, and his men even removed and sold the establishment's marble stones and metal effects. The administrator was forced to lock the monastery's church and flee; some of the Armenian inhabitants of the city

were also compelled to leave. When in that year pilgrims arrived at Latakia they were forced to seek lodgings elsewhere and suffered losses and hardship at the hands of the authorities. At long last two local Armenian bankers, Mkrtich' and Melk'on, sought the mediation of Patriarch Karapet of Constantinople, who succeeded through the Porte in having the troops removed from the establishment.⁴³

The small local Armenian community in Latakia also frequently sought to take advantage of the monastery's facilities. According to a record copied by prelate T'adēos Ekawian (1874-1906), for instance, a substantial number of these families lived in the hospice and used the monastery's mill without paying rent. After years of effort Mesrob Bubli, an Armenian magnate of Izmir who held the tobacco concession at Latakia, succeeded in expelling these families from the hospice and in recovering the mill. Henceforward, the proceeds from the mill were secured for the institution itself. Bubli also converted the hospice into a tobacco warehouse, thus providing the monastery with additional revenue.⁴⁴

The authority of the spiritual representatives designated by the see of Jerusalem did not extend beyond the limits of Latakia and the Armenian villages in its immediate vicinity. Sometime between 1887 and 1889 the prelate T'adēos sought, presumably without the knowledge and approval of his superiors, to extend this jurisdiction to include the Armenian communities of Antioch and its environs, which had always been an integral part of the catholico-sate of Cilicia. Under the pretext of an unofficial visit to Antioch he remained there for a while in pursuit of his objective, but was eventually compelled to leave because of the protests of the executive council of the bishopric of Aleppo.⁴⁵

Since the institution of the pilgrimage to the Holy Land in the earliest centuries of Christianity, Aleppo must have served as one of the most important Syrian stations for Armenian pilgrims arriving from historic Armenia, Cappadocia, Persia, Mesopotamia, and Cilicia, and in the course of time facilities must have been established for their accommodation and comfort. How early such facilities existed in Aleppo cannot be easily determined, but the first privately owned Armenian ecclesiastical institution, which dates back to the middle of the fourteenth century, undoubtedly assumed the responsibility of caring for the pilgrims. The Aleppine

bishopric was under the jurisdiction of the supreme hierarchy of the Armenian church at Sis until the year 1441, and subsequent to that under the authority of the regional catholicosate of Cilicia. As the see receiving the pilgrims, however, the patriarchate of Jerusalem had a vested interest in facilities for them along their route.

At the end of the fifteenth or the beginning of the sixteenth century the Aleppine Armenian magnate Rēis Isa, who made large contributions toward the construction of churches, built a number of inns and hostels for the accommodation of transients and particularly for pilgrims bound for Jerusalem.⁴⁶ The hospice now standing in Aleppo was built during the incumbency of Patriarch Grigor Parontēr in 1624, as a property of his see, through the generosity of the Aleppine magnate Khocha Gharipjan.⁴⁷ Being adjacent to the local Armenian church of St. K'arhasnits' in the Salibiya quarter of the city, this structure served a dual purpose, housing monastics year round and pilgrims during the pilgrimage season. In 1721 Patriarch Grigor Shght'ayakir restored the hospice and considerably enlarged it by acquiring several adjoining properties with the financial assistance of a number of well-to-do and pious Aleppine merchants.⁴⁸ In subsequent years the see's properties at Aleppo were further augmented by the acquisition of revenue-yielding estates in other quarters of the city. A visitor to Aleppo in 1868 reports that the hospice had a spacious courtyard surrounded by thirty-two rooms on two levels.⁴⁹

From the seventeenth century on, the hostel and other holdings of the see were under the administrative responsibility of officials designated by the patriarchate of Jerusalem. These sometimes were monks dispatched from the Holy City, such as Pōghos Mashkertts'i, who served in that capacity from 1768 to 1775 with the assistance of Nikoghayos, presumably a well-known local merchant or financier. More often than not, however, the see designated one of the Aleppine priests who served as its deputy. As the office was a lucrative one, local priests frequently vied with each other for it. In the nineteenth century a number of laymen held the post.⁵⁰ As a rule the clerical administrators and their families lived in the hospice. In the second half of the nineteenth century some families in the community also resided there without rental charge.⁵¹

THE DIOCESE OF EGYPT

Until the nineteenth century the Armenian communities of Egypt were under the spiritual and administrative jurisdiction of the patriarchate of Jerusalem. Little is known about the origin of these communities. It is evident, however, that Armenians had settled in the country even before the Fatimid rule, and that during the Fatimid period they not only substantially increased in number, but also played a significant role in the political and military history of Egypt.

Under the inept Caliph al-Mustansir (1036–1094) the Fatimid empire was on the verge of collapse on account of external and internal factors. At the invitation of the caliph in 1073 Badr al-Jamali, an Armenian slave who had become commander of the Egyptian troops in Syria, took charge of the government and army in Egypt and with “great though brutal vigour brought order into affairs again and indeed a second period of splendour to the Fatimid empire.” Al-Jamali arrived in Egypt with his Armenian bodyguard and trustworthy soldiers who had been under his command and delivered the caliph out of the hands of his “despotic Turkish officials.” When he had become master of the situation, al-Jamali was appointed commander-in-chief, chief justice, and vizier, and his virtually absolute rule of Egypt, which lasted until his death in 1094, is praised by a number of Arab historians. His son al-Afdal Shahanshah succeeded him in all his offices.⁵²

Al-Jamali brought many Armenians with him into Egypt and subsequently summoned many to take positions in the army and the administration. These Armenians furnished the Fatimid caliphate with a number of viziers, of whom only one, Bahram, remained a Christian.⁵³ The Fatimids’ general policy of tolerance toward non-Muslims and the successive vizierate of Armenians during the years 1073–1163,⁵⁴ encouraged Armenian émigrés to settle in large numbers in Egypt.

During Badr al-Jamali’s rule the Armenian Catholicos Grigor II Vkasēr journeyed to Egypt to study at firsthand the situation of the Christian monastic institutions as well as the life of the anchorites scattered throughout the land. Not only was he warmly received by the caliph, but al-Jamali exerted all of his influence

to persuade the catholicos to establish permanently his pontifical seat in Egypt.⁵⁵ In this period alone al-Jamali brought some 30,000 Armenians to Egypt.⁵⁶ Before continuing his journey to Jerusalem in 1099 Vkasasēr ordained his nephew Grigoris as bishop, and entrusted him with the religious and spiritual administration of the communicants in Egypt; he also built several monasteries and churches for them.⁵⁷

A century after Vkasasēr's visit to Egypt an Egyptian historian of Armenian descent, Abu Šalih, writing of the Christian communities' ecclesiastical situation, refers to some thirty Armenian churches and monasteries throughout the country built mostly during the Fatimid period.⁵⁸ Al-Maqrizi confirms that in the twelfth century there was a large Armenian community at Cairo, with more than seven thousand in Hart-Husayniya alone.⁵⁹

With the establishment by Saladin of the Ayyubid dynasty in Egypt in 1171, the Armenians, staunch supporters of the Fatimids, lost their influential position within the army. They were replaced by Kurds and Turks.⁶⁰ Moreover, since the local Armenians participated in several revolts against Ayyubid rule, particularly in the great uprising of 1192, the new authorities massacred and persecuted many Armenians and confiscated and looted their churches and monasteries. As a result of the persecution and of forced or voluntary apostasies and emigrations, the number of Armenians in Egypt gradually dwindled. Historians and chroniclers fail to mention any Armenian churches and monasteries outside of Cairo in this period. And it is recorded that Prince Reuben II (1175–1186) of Cilicia and Catholicos Grigor Tghay (1173–1193) negotiated with Ayyubid authorities to recover certain Armenian churches in Cairo with only partial success.⁶¹

In 1250 the Mamelukes of Egypt supplanted the Ayyubids and gained control of Palestine and large portions of Syria, which they held until the Ottomanization of these territories in the first quarter of the sixteenth century. During their periodic invasions of Cilicia in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the Mamelukes carried Armenian captives to Egypt, most of whom subsequently were Islamized. The last of the Cilician kings, Leon V, his family, and other Armenian captives were taken to Egypt in 1375, where, according to the testimony of the king's Latin confessor, John Dardel, they found many Islamized Armenians in the ranks of the Mameluke armies, as well as a Christian Armenian com-

munity at Cairo with its own churches and ecclesiastics. The Armenian captives were generally settled in special localities, one of which probably was the so-called "Kawm al-Arman" (meaning, the hill of the Armenians). The Coptic coreligionists of the Armenians evidenced their sympathy for them by placing at their disposal a particular portion of the church of St. Minas and one section of the Coptic garden which the Armenians used as a cemetery.⁶²

Since the time of Catholicos V kayasēr's visit to Egypt the Armenian communities of Egypt, which constituted a distinct bishopric, remained under the jurisdiction of the supreme pontificate of the Armenian church. But shortly after Patriarch Sargis of Jerusalem proclaimed the independence of his see from the pontificate, in 1311, he journeyed to Egypt where he obtained a firman from the Mameluke Sultan Malik Nasr recognizing Jerusalem's spiritual and administrative jurisdiction over the Armenians residing within the bounds of the Mameluke state, including Egypt itself — a tradition which persisted into the nineteenth century.

Little is known of the history of the Armenians of Egypt under Mameluke and Ottoman rule, perhaps because of the community's drastic depletion and because of the loss of the influential and favored position it enjoyed under the Fatimids. Throughout this long period the small constituency's religious and civil affairs were managed by ecclesiastics, sometimes bishops but more often vardapets, appointed by and directly responsible to the patriarchate of Jerusalem. Thus the community of Egypt for all practical purposes lost its former status of a duly organized and recognized bishopric.⁶³ As the Egyptian communities lacked financial resources, the patriarchate met their needs, especially in the restoration or construction of ecclesiastical institutions and facilities.⁶⁴ Consequently properties and religious endowments secured in Egypt were acquired and registered in the name of the patriarchate alone. The revenues from such properties were generally dispatched to Jerusalem; only in cases of urgent need did the patriarchate earmark certain funds for local projects.

With the establishment of the Egyptian viceroyalty under Muhammad Ali in the beginning of the nineteenth century, and under his successors, the community gained a status which in many respects was comparable to that which it enjoyed during the Fatimid period. The generally sympathetic attitude of Egypt's

new rulers toward the Armenians induced a certain number of their compatriots elsewhere to settle in this country of new opportunities. The community gradually grew in this period and many Armenians, such as Pōghos Bey Yusufian, Art'in Bey Chrakian, Arhak'el Bey Nubar, Nubar Pasha, and Tigran Pasha d'Abro — to name but a few — distinguished themselves as statesmen and high officials.⁶⁵ It is not surprising, therefore, that the community leaders should seek the establishment of a bishopric in Egypt with quasi-autonomous governing bodies.

These tendencies became apparent during the incumbency of Bishop Kirakos (1825–1834). The secular leaders, who began to play a more active role in the community's affairs, prevented the bishop from sending to Jerusalem the proceeds of properties belonging to the see; instead, they used these funds to purchase new real estate.⁶⁶

Before leaving Egypt in 1834 Kirakos appointed, presumably with the consent of the authorities in Jerusalem, the vardapet Gabriël as locum tenens of Egypt. He exhorted Gabriël to oversee diligently the patriarchate's properties and dispatch the revenues regularly to Jerusalem, and to safeguard the patriarchate's age-old jurisdiction over the Egyptian constituency. Though Gabriël gave verbal assurances he not only ignored the injunctions but soon after the bishop's departure pursued his own objectives in collusion with the secular community leaders. He incited the local constituents to rebel against the authority of the patriarchate and to appropriate its properties, and began to expend the revenues of those properties on local needs. In the meantime, however, he did not fail to assure the patriarchate of his loyalty to the see of Jerusalem, of which he was an ordained member. Not deceived, the patriarchal authorities admonished him to change his course of action; when he continued to ignore their repeated warnings they were compelled to recall him to Jerusalem. With a view to ensuring its traditional jurisdiction, the patriarchate dispatched the vardapet Dawit' to replace Gabriël as prelate of Egypt. But the local constituents would not allow Gabriël to leave and refused to recognize the appointment of Dawit'. In consequence, the new prelate was constrained to return to Jerusalem.⁶⁷

Some years later a fire at Cairo seriously damaged a number of buildings owned by the patriarchate. At the behest of the local

magnates the authorities of the see allotted a sum of 190,000 piasters⁶⁸ for their repair. Gabriël and his secular associates failed to effect the restorations, however; instead, they invested the sum in property at Alexandria, which interestingly enough was registered as an inalienable trust of the patriarchate of Jerusalem. Since the Armenian church of St. Sargis in Cairo had become inadequate for the needs of the growing community, they also decided to erect a new and larger church edifice. In addition to public solicitation, they appropriated the proceeds from the patriarchate's holdings. Construction of the new church of St. Mary was completed in 1839.⁶⁹

Prior to the official consecration of the church prelate Gabriël prevailed on his close associates to ask the patriarchate for a certificate sanctioning his elevation to the episcopal rank. The plea presented the see with a serious dilemma. It could hardly be expected to reward one of its officials who had challenged its authority. On the other hand, the see was desirous of appeasing the Egyptian community, particularly the oligarchy, in order to safeguard Jerusalem's traditional control. The patriarchate therefore chose a compromise: it permitted the prelate to use an episcopal staff and miter, but it denied him the requested certificate. In repeated petitions the magnates admitted their prelate's shortcomings, but made it clear that he was perfectly acceptable to them, and that they were appreciative of his devotion to their community. Finally the patriarchal authorities acceded to their wishes by issuing a certificate sanctioning Gabriël's episcopal ordination.⁷⁰

Upon receiving the document prelate Gabriël not only expressed his appreciation to the authorities of the see, but sent them his oath of allegiance — a gesture designed to dispel any suspicion of his motives. Instead of proceeding to Etchmiadzin to receive his episcopal ordination, as was customary for the ecclesiastics of the see of Jerusalem, he went to the less distant city of Sis, fearing that the patriarchate might take advantage of a protracted absence to replace him with another prelate. The notoriously corrupt catholicos of Cilicia, Mik'ayël II Ajapahian, conferred upon Gabriël the episcopal rank on June 15, 1839.⁷¹

Gabriël now needed nothing more from the see of Jerusalem, and so was free to take the necessary steps to consummate the

constituency's official separation from the patriarchate. With the full agreement of the community's secular leaders the Cairo hierarchy ceased to transmit not only revenues but annual financial reports to the see. Instead, they appropriated the proceeds of the see's properties for the needs of the local ecclesiastical institutions, whose administration had already fallen into the hands of the oligarchy. Finally, by a decree obtained from the Porte through Patriarch Hakobos of Constantinople, the community of Egypt was constituted as a distinct and independent bishopric within the see of Constantinople.⁷² Patriarch Zak'aria of Jerusalem sought to reverse these developments by recalling Gabriël to Jerusalem and dispatching another prelate to Egypt in 1844, but certain high-ranking Armenian officials of the Egyptian government secured the dismissal of the new appointee. Henceforward, the patriarchate deemed it prudent not to pursue the issue but to await an opportune moment to recover its assets in Egypt.⁷³

Patriarch Hovhannēs (1850–1860) of Jerusalem sought to resolve the crisis of his see's relations with the community of Egypt, but recognizing the futility of his efforts abandoned further attempts.⁷⁴ His successor, Patriarch Esayi (1864–1885), however, made the restoration of his see's jurisdiction over the Egyptian community and the recovery of its assets one of his primary objectives. Upon the failure of an emissary he sent to Egypt to achieve this, Esayi himself headed a delegation in the summer of 1867, that is, shortly after prelate Gabriël's death.⁷⁵ The ostensible purpose of his trip was to congratulate the Khedive Isma'il Pasha in person for the privileges which the khedive had secured from the Ottoman sultan. Soon after his arrival at Alexandria the secular leader of the local community, T'agwor Bey Hakobian, urged Esayi to relinquish his claims and officially abandon the see's assets to the local church. Hakobian promised in return that he would exert his personal influence to revert the bishopric to the jurisdiction of the patriarchate of Jerusalem. Esayi chose to ignore this counsel. In Cairo he met with the local Armenian oligarchs and other community leaders, who stressed the need for an amicable settlement of the issues. Recognizing that a settlement could not be reached, he protested to Foreign Minister Raghub Pasha, but to no avail. In January 1868 Esayi returned to Jerusalem after a singularly unsuccessful mission. Since he re-

garded Hakobian, a Russian subject, as the principal obstructionist, the patriarch wrote several letters to the Russian ambassador at Constantinople, Count Ignatiev, as well as to Catholicos Gēorg IV of Etchmiadzin, asking them to use their influence on the community leader. He apparently had no success.⁷⁶

Clearly there were two basic issues: the restoration of the diocese of Egypt to the jurisdiction of the patriarchate of Jerusalem and the recovery of the see's property holdings in Egypt. The first was nonnegotiable because the separation was already an accomplished fact. The second was eventually settled, after protracted negotiations, in favor of the see of Jerusalem, which recovered most of its holdings, conceding the rest to the church institutions in Cairo and Alexandria.⁷⁷

In 1863 the patriarchate of Constantinople dispatched to the bishopric of Egypt the vardapet Mesrop Suk'iasian, who took the first step toward introducing the constitutional system of community government. In that year the first so-called T'aghakan Khorhurd (parish council) was elected by popular vote in Cairo.⁷⁸ Twenty years later Step'an Pasha Aslanian arrived in Egypt as the delegate-plenipotentiary of the central authorities in Constantinople, with a view to applying the provisions of the National Constitution throughout the bishopric. In consequence of his efforts regular assemblies and executive councils were elected at Cairo and Alexandria to administer the ecclesiastical and civil affairs of the community. And in 1907, on the basis of a set of regulations drafted by the patriarchate for the bishopric, the two communities elected their own representative assemblies and religious and civil councils, which henceforth met periodically in joint sessions to deliberate matters affecting the Egyptian community as a whole.⁷⁹

THE DIOCESE OF CYPRUS

Another Armenian community which off and on was under the spiritual and administrative jurisdiction of the patriarchate of Jerusalem was that of Cyprus. The history of this community can be traced as far back as the island's occupation by the Byzantines. The historian Sebēos asserts that Emperor Maurice and the Persian sovereign Khusrow agreed to denude Armenia of its native population,⁸⁰ and that the emperor transplanted many from west

Armenia to Thrace and Cyprus in 577. Two Armenian generals of the Byzantine empire, Alexis in 868 and Basil in 958, wrested Cyprus from Arab dominion. In 965 mention is made of the Armenian Duke Vrachamia (or Vakram) as governor of the island. In the last quarter of the tenth century Catholicos Khach'ik I (973-992) established a bishopric at Nicosia for the Armenian community of Cyprus.⁸¹ Toward the end of the eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth century mention is made of Elphidius Vaskhamis, an Armenian from Cilicia, as "curopalate and duke of Cyprus."⁸² And in 1179 the prelate of Cyprus, Bishop T'adēos, attended the synod of the Armenian church held at Hromklay.⁸³

Subsequent to the establishment of the Armenian barony (later kingdom) in Cilicia in 1080 Cyprus began to attract an increasing number of Armenian settlers. There is ample evidence that prior to the Frankish Lusignan occupation of Cyprus in 1191 the Armenians represented a substantial proportion of its inhabitants. They were not confined to isolated settlements, but lived in various towns and villages.⁸⁴ In recounting the invasion of Richard the Lion-Hearted in 1191, the contemporary chronicler Abbot Benedict of Peterborough states that the Byzantine governor Comnenos ordered his subordinates to remove the doors of the Armenian and Greek homes at Limassol and to use them for erecting barricades. When Richard returned to Limassol after his pursuit of Comnenos in the interior of the island, he found that the local Armenians and Greeks had evacuated the city. Likewise, when the English troops penetrated the interior, the Armenians and Greeks who guarded the towns, castles, and supplies retreated to the mountains.⁸⁵ These attest to the fact that the island's Armenians occupied as important a position as the local Greeks, and represented a not inconsiderable number.

During the early years of Lusignan rule the local Greeks and Armenians were placed in servitude to the ruling Franks, paid heavy taxes, and toiled as farmers.⁸⁶ The lot of the Armenians significantly improved when the Cilician Armenian and Lusignan royal families established closer political bonds through marriage. Indeed, there came a time when the Armenians occupied a most respected position on the island.⁸⁷

In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the Armenians distinguished themselves in many walks of life under Lusignan rule. A number of individuals bore the title of Marshal of the King-

dom of Armenia, especially during the period 1302–1459.⁸⁸ After the fall of the Cilician capital of Sis, Armenian royal titles were used in the Lusignan administration. A number of Armenians served as military adjutants and guards.⁸⁹ After the death of the last sovereign of the Cilician kingdom the rulers of Cyprus added “King of Armenia” to their titles, in view of their dynastic ties with Cilicia and the large Armenian community on the island. They also created new titles and awarded special grants of land and financial allotments to the Armenian royalty who had settled in Cyprus. During this period Nicosia had a special Armenian quarter called “Armenia”;⁹⁰ there were also a number of exclusively Armenian villages, notably, Jibs, Spathariko, Platani, Koraskipos (or Cornogibo), Mekhitar, and Armenokhor, which retained their Armenian character even under Venetian rule of the island.⁹¹ The Armenians controlled the trade of Cyprus, their principal warehouses being at Limassol, Paphos, and Famagusta. Armenian peasants and farmers owned orchards and vineyards, called “Erminesques,” in the valley of Missore and on the slopes of the Kyrenian mountains.⁹²

The size of the Armenian community under Lusignan rule is also attested by the numerous monasteries and churches it had established throughout the island, as well as by the existence of two episcopal seats at Nicosia and Famagusta.⁹³ The creation of two distinct bishoprics had been necessitated by the large influx of Armenian settlers from Cilicia prior and subsequent to the fall of the Cilician kingdom. Following the pro-Latin resolutions of the Armenian synod at Sis in 1307 King Oshin and Catholicos Kostandin III exiled to Cyprus many bishops and other ecclesiastics who had opposed their Latinophile policies.⁹⁴ The resulting increase in the number of ecclesiastics was instrumental in the creation of a national cultural and literary center, notably in the monastery of Kanchuor and the church of St. Mary at Famagusta, where a considerable number of manuscripts were copied.⁹⁵

The Venetians occupied Cyprus in 1489 and maintained their rule until the arrival of the Ottomans in 1570. The Venetians' sympathetic attitude toward the local Armenians is confirmed by the financial allotments which the descendants of the Cilician Armenian nobility continued to receive from the government treasury. The island's Armenian merchants became good customers for Venetian manufactured products. The sixteenth-century

Cypriot monk Etienne de Lusignan lists Armenian as fourth among the languages most widely employed on the island and, referring to the official processions held annually on Good Friday and the feast of St. Makarius, asserts that Armenians occupied the place of honor after the Latins. Etienne confirms that the Armenian community still had two episcopal seats and had maintained the ethnic character of at least three of their villages. And he relates the election of the Latinized Armenian Bishop Julian, of the Dominican order, as prelate. Julian is said to have journeyed to Rome where his election was confirmed by Pope Pius IV (1559-1565). Upon his return to Cyprus the local Armenians recognized the authority of the Roman papacy.⁹⁶ It would be erroneous to conclude from Etienne's account that the conversion to Catholicism was of a general nature. On the other hand, it seems more than likely that a considerable proportion of the extensive Armenian community was assimilated with the local Franks, Greeks, and Venetians before the termination of Venetian rule in Cyprus, while others had emigrated to Europe and other countries.

It is asserted that in the Ottoman invasion force of some 243,000 troops in 1570 there were about 40,000 Armenians.⁹⁷ These figures may be grossly exaggerated, but it seems certain that the Armenians contributed to the Ottoman occupation of the island.⁹⁸ In compensation the Ottomans, subsequent to their occupation of Nicosia, granted the Armenians the formerly Latin church of St. Mary, which the Venetians had converted into a salt warehouse during the military conflagration.⁹⁹ As under the Lusignans and Venetians, the Armenians evidenced their loyalty to the authorities. For instance, when in 1606 some 80,000 Greeks revolted against Ottoman rule the Armenians refused to join the insurrection. On this occasion their loyalty was rewarded by the Ottoman general Khusrow Pasha, who not only armed them but also entrusted them with the defense of the city of Paphos.¹⁰⁰

Nevertheless, the Ottomans' three-centuries-long occupation of Cyprus proved detrimental to the island's Armenian community. There is no evidence of persecution of the Armenians, but conditions under Ottoman rule were not conducive to further community progress. Cyprus' loss of commercial significance, and the apostasies and emigrations were instrumental in the gradual depletion of the Armenian community, in consequence of which

the ecclesiastical organization, too, in course of time disintegrated. Gradually the ancient and medieval Armenian monasteries and churches and their properties were either confiscated or deserted. The English traveler Richard Pococke, who visited Cyprus in 1745, confirms that the Armenians at Nicosia were few in number and poor, and that they had an archbishop as prelate and a monastery in the mountains.¹⁰¹ The island's ecclesiastical institution had been diminished to the one episcopal seat at Nicosia.

Under the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia, the two bishoprics of Cyprus had functioned within the framework of the supreme pontificate of the Armenian church. Subsequent to the transfer of this see to Etchmiadzin in 1441 the communities of Cyprus came under the spiritual and administrative jurisdiction of the regional catholicosate of Cilicia, an arrangement which remained in force until the year 1775, when the then single bishopric of Cyprus came under the authority of the patriarchate of Jerusalem.¹⁰² Indeed, some three decades earlier, Patriarch Grigor Shght'ayakir of Jerusalem had already demonstrated his active interest in the condition of the small Cypriot community by providing it with funds to purchase some lands for the ecclesiastical institutions of the island.¹⁰³

Apart from the Armenian church of St. Mary at Nicosia, the only other medieval institution which had survived was the monastery of St. Makar in the northeast region of the Kyrenia-Karpas mountain range. Originally a Coptic institution, the monastery seems to have become an Armenian possession in the fifteenth or sixteenth century. Its most prosperous period was during the years 1650–1750, when its anchoritic and ascetic monks also engaged in cultural and literary activities. Thanks to two firmans, issued by the Ottoman government in 1642 and 1660, exempting the monastery from taxation, its landholdings were appreciably increased through purchases by the institution and donations to it by pious pilgrims. Indeed, it became customary for Armenian pilgrims to visit the monastery of St. Makar, which was renowned as an important sanctuary.¹⁰⁴

The roster of the prelates of the Cypriot Armenian community indicates that from 1775 until the end of World War I the spiritual leaders were, in the main, appointed by the patriarchate of Jerusalem.¹⁰⁵ During this period there were intervals, however, when for one reason or another the responsibility for appointing pre-

ates was assumed by the patriarchate of Constantinople. Moreover, in the mid-1840's Catholicos Mik'ayēl II Ajapahian of Cilicia made an abortive attempt to revert the Cypriot community to the jurisdiction of his see.

Until the promulgation of the Armenian National Constitution in 1863 the religious and civil affairs of the Cypriot Armenian community were managed by a so-called T'aghakan Khorhurd (parish council) at Nicosia composed of four laymen and presided over by the prelate. Revenues from the community properties provided the salaries of the prelate, priests, and schoolteachers. Annual financial reports, as well as the proceeds from the periodic church collections, were dispatched to the patriarchate of Jerusalem. Several times a year the parish council convened a majority of the local community to discuss matters affecting it. This assemblage was not a popularly elected and duly constituted body, however.¹⁰⁶

The restiveness of a segment of the Armenians is indicated by charges of mismanagement of the community's extensive landholdings, the farms of the monastery of St. Makar and the properties of the church of St. Mary at Nicosia. It was argued that whereas these properties could yield an annual income of some 200,000 piasters the revenue was only 40,000. This was attributed to their maladministration by a few "unworthy and corrupt" magnates, who were motivated not by the welfare of the community but by their own personal interests. The issue split the community and rival magnates fought among themselves for control of the ecclesiastical assets.¹⁰⁷

During the brief incumbency of prelate Ghukas Khanikian (1865-1867) the first parish council of Nicosia was elected by popular vote in accordance with the provisions of the National Constitution. In a further effort to improve the administrative structure of the community Patriarch Pōghos T'ak't'ak'ian of Constantinople in November 1866 sent an encyclical letter to Cyprus, suggesting specific measures designed for the efficacious administration of the monastery of St. Makar and its extensive lands — estimated at 10,000 acres — and properties.¹⁰⁸ The community was instructed that the monastery should be administered by an executive council composed of one cleric and three laymen. Customarily, the lands of the monastery had been leased to individual farmers. The patriarch now suggested that if no

such tenant farmers were available, then three or four farming families should be brought from Adana or some other Cilician region to cultivate the lands for the institution. With a view to restoring the suspended monastic life, the instructions urged the appointment of an abbot and the installation of an adequate number of monastics. Their expenses, as well as the funds needed for the restoration of the monastery's properties, were to be provided by a more efficient and profitable administration of its assets. The monastery's annual budget was to be approved by the patriarchate, subsequent to its examination by the general assembly of the community at Nicosia. And finally, in order to rectify a situation which was likely to jeopardize the interests of the community, the patriarch enjoined those individuals in whose names certain properties belonging to the church at Nicosia and the monastery of St. Makar had been registered to declare officially forthwith that they held such deeds only as trustees of the said institutions. It is not easy to determine the extent to which the patriarch's instructions were carried out. But it is reported that by the year 1873 the total revenues had risen from 40,000 to 100,000 piasters.¹⁰⁹

When, as a result of the Anglo-Turkish Cyprus Convention of 1878, Great Britain assumed control of the island, the number of Armenians at Nicosia was estimated at only 150. On the whole the British administration's attitude toward the Armenians was most sympathetic and many an Armenian distinguished himself in the local civil service.¹¹⁰ Subsequent to the Hamidian massacres of 1895-96 in Asia Minor the British authorities permitted the settlement in Cyprus of some 500 to 600 Armenians from Constantinople, Ayntab, Kilis, Tigranakert, and so forth, but most of them, being unable to secure a livelihood, returned to their native lands.¹¹¹ A private British organization, The Eastern and Colonial Association, aimed at resettling a large number of Armenian refugee laborers. To this end it bought four farms in various parts of the island, and established a sericultural mill and school at Nicosia, appointing Armenians as directors, superintendents, and farmers, and enrolling Armenian pupils. The organization's inability to raise an adequate principal, however, caused the failure of this philanthropic enterprise within a few years.¹¹² The Cilician massacres of 1909 also resulted in the arrival in Cyprus of Armenian refugees. A group of English women raised

a substantial amount of money and started an orphanage and training center at Larnaca with some two hundred Armenian widows and orphans whom they brought from Cilicia. The aim of the center was to train the refugees in various trades before resettling them on the island; but it, too, had a short life.¹¹³

According to the census of 1901 there were some 560 Armenians in Cyprus, most of them at Nicosia, and the rest in Famagusta, Limassol, Larnaca, Paphos, and the monastery of St. Makar. Subsequent to the French evacuation of Cilicia in 1921 a new wave of Armenian refugees arrived in Cyprus, raising the total of the community to about 5700. A considerable number of these later emigrated elsewhere, however. With the reconstitution of the Cilician catholicosate in Syria and Lebanon in the early 1920's the bishopric of Cyprus, which until then had been under the general jurisdiction of the patriarchate of Jerusalem, came under the spiritual and administrative authority of the Cilician see.

CHAPTER VII

Custodianship of the Holy Places

IN THE EARLIEST DAYS of the Universal Church of Christ the sanctuaries in the Holy Places, notably the church of the Holy Sepulcher at Jerusalem, the church of St. Mary at Gethsemane, the church of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives, and the church of the Nativity at Bethlehem, were used for religious services not by one people alone, but by all Christians. In the course of time national institutions with monastics having a common language and cultural heritage developed in some of these communities, but many had monastic and anchoritic establishments whose congregations represented a multiplicity of races. Within the one and undivided Church Jerusalem was a bishopric in the patriarchate of Antioch. At the ecumenical council of Chalcedon the episcopacy of Jerusalem was elevated to the dignity of a patriarchate with Bishop Jouvenal as hierarch.

THE ARMENIANS AND THE HOLY PLACES UNDER ARAB, LATIN, AYYUBID, AND MAMELUKE DOMINION

By the seventh century, when Jerusalem fell to the Muslim Arabs, the Christian Church had already been divided into various sects. Nevertheless the see of Jerusalem still had only one patriarch, and all Christians, regardless of their ethnic origins, doubtless shared in common worship at the Holy Places, arranging among themselves a schedule for their services.

It is generally asserted that the Greek Patriarch Sophronius arranged the terms of the capitulation of Jerusalem with Caliph Umar I in 638. The Greek claim that the Arab conqueror granted a charter to the same ecclesiastic, entrusting the custody of all the Holy Places exclusively to the Greeks, is based on a later

forgery designed to further this community's claims to the sanctuaries.¹ Equally unauthentic are the edicts which the Armenian patriarch of Jerusalem is alleged to have received not only from Caliph Umar I but also from the Prophet Muhammad and the orthodox Caliph Ali.² All of these documents, which must have been fabricated to support rival claims to the dominical sanctuaries, have no historical foundation.

It is certain, however, that subsequent to the Arab conquest the Greek Orthodox and the Armenians, as well as the monophysites and other Christian sects, continued to enjoy the privilege of holding services in the dominical sanctuaries of Jerusalem and its environs. The Armenians also owned privately a number of important religious establishments in the Holy Land. In consequence of the constant persecutions and coercions of the Greek clergy because of the christological views of the Armenian church and because of the excessive taxes imposed by the Arab rulers the Armenians lost a substantial number of their private possessions and holdings and their rights to free access to the common dominical sanctuaries were seriously curtailed. Nevertheless they did not cease to occupy a prominent position in the ecclesiastical organization of the Holy City.

With the arrival of the Crusaders and the establishment of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem a far-reaching change took place. As the cleavage between the Franks and the indigenous Christians became more and more pronounced, the Latin element gained *praedominium* (paramountcy) in all the Holy Places at the expense of the other Christian sects, notably the Greek Orthodox, whose patriarch finally retired to Constantinople. Nevertheless, according to the account of Theodoric, there were still in 1172 representatives of the other churches officiating in the Holy Sepulcher, though "differing in language and in their manner of conducting divine service."³

During the Frankish hegemony many Christians, mostly Armenian, from Antioch, Edessa, Tarsus, Cappadocia, Cilicia, Mesopotamia, and Syria, flocked into Jerusalem, some to establish permanent residence there and others performing pilgrimages.⁴ As a result of this influx and because of the close relationship between the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem and the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia, the Armenian position in the Holy Places and their private monastic institutions gained a new revival of strength, vitality,

and splendor. The monastery and cathedral of St. James on Mount Zion, which was acquired from the local Georgians in the twelfth century, became the principal headquarters of the Armenian ecclesiastical institutions in the Holy Land.

Saladin's occupation of Jerusalem in 1187 and the fall of the Latin kingdom marked another turning point in the fortunes of the three major custodians of the Holy Places. The Latin-Orthodox rivalry for control of the dominical sanctuaries began as early as 1188, when the Byzantine Emperor Isaac Angelus allied himself with Saladin to secure the privilege. Nevertheless, for a century or so, even after the fall of Jerusalem, Latin supremacy was maintained. As attested by the treaties made with the Muslims, the Crusaders sought to secure the position of the Latins exclusively and barely tolerated the performance of other rites in the Holy Places. The Franciscan order, established in Jerusalem in 1230, was the official representative of Roman Catholicism in the Holy Places, with headquarters in the Cenacle on Mount Zion. With the fall of Acre in 1291, however, undisputed Latin supremacy came to an end. The ever deepening estrangement between Rome and the church of Byzantium, and particularly the sacking and plunder of Constantinople by Crusaders in 1204, accentuated the rivalry between the two parties in Jerusalem, which henceforth became their battlefield.⁵

The Armenian Patriarch Abraham and his leading clerical associates are said to have hastened to pledge their loyalty to the victorious Saladin and to pay him the prescribed poll tax. The patriarch requested the sultan to reaffirm all privileges previously guaranteed to the community in the charters allegedly granted to the Armenians by the Prophet and by the Caliphs Umar and Ali. The text of the charter⁶ issued by the sultan reconfirmed the "sacred and benevolent acts" of his revered predecessors. The sultan enjoined that not only his successors but also the Muslims generally should faithfully honor the new pact granted by him.

The conqueror guaranteed absolute religious freedom to the Armenians and their communicant Copts, Syrians, and Abyssinians, as well as the integrity of the Armenian sanctuaries. These included the monasteries of St. James,⁷ the Holy Archangels, the Holy Saviour, the Holy Sepulcher, and Golgotha, and also their churches at Bethlehem and Nablus. The sultan's protection of

the Armenians and their possessions was not limited to the Holy City and its environs, but extended throughout his entire domains. Saladin proclaimed that none of their sanctuaries and places of worship should be destroyed; on the contrary, should the Armenians and their followers suffer difficulties or should Armenian churches need restoring the Muslims were to assist them. It was made amply clear that this injunction in no way meant that the Muslims supported Christianity; rather, all assistance was to be an expression of pity and mercy, and in deference to the pact granted the Armenians by the Prophet. In the contingency of war, the Armenians were to be exempted from additional taxation. In conclusion, Saladin affirmed that all Muslim believers should, on pain of divine punishment and the Prophet's anathema, always faithfully honor the charter.

In addition to permitting the Armenians and the other monophysite Christian communities complete religious freedom, Saladin acceded to the pleas of the Armenian patriarch to refrain from converting the cathedral of the Holy Sepulcher into a public domain. It is claimed that he sold the cathedral to the Armenians.⁸ This can perhaps be explained by the fact that prior to the Latin occupation of Jerusalem a large portion of this sanctuary had belonged to the Armenian church.

The records involving the control of the Holy Places and inter-community rivalries and disputes are much more abundant beginning with the dominion of the Mameluke sultans of Egypt. Under Mameluke rule the seemingly loyal and trustworthy Armenians, and their communicant Copts, Syrians, and Abyssinians, enjoyed relatively greater freedom in the exercise of their religious rites. The special privileges granted to them enabled not only the preservation but also the extension of their sanctuaries, monasteries, and other possessions, after due payment, of course, of regular taxes and bribes.⁹ In the first half of the thirteenth century, in particular, the Armenians succeeded in restoring their long-neglected sanctuaries and institutions and were able to construct new edifices. These were made possible through the generous contributions of Armenian pilgrims, who came to the Holy Land in ever increasing numbers, and through the munificence of the Armenian kings and royalty of Cilicia.

The Mameluke administration of the Holy Land, however, did not always exhibit a spirit of tolerance toward the Armenians

and other Christians. Tax collectors constantly harassed and coerced the monasteries demanding lawful and illegitimate levies. Ecclesiastical edifices lost their splendor because permits for construction and restoration could not be obtained.¹⁰

As an example of the predicament which had befallen the Armenians mention might be made of the difficulties encountered by the vardapet Karapet of Tosp, who visited Jerusalem on a pilgrimage toward the end of the thirteenth century. In the colophon of an Armenian manuscript he refers to the Armenian monastery of the Holy Saviour on Mount Zion which had been confiscated by the local Muslims and converted into stables. Karapet recovered the monastery by paying 4000 piasters; he made three journeys to Egypt to obtain a permit from the sultan for its restoration, and two trips to Cilicia, presumably to secure funds for the purpose.¹¹

Under the Mamelukes the Armenians also suffered encroachments at the hands of the other Christian communities, notably the Georgians. In 1312, for instance, the king of Georgia sent an emissary to Sultan Malik Yusuf of Egypt, requesting that the Armenian monastery of St. James at Jerusalem be turned over to the Georgian community. The Armenian Patriarch Sargis hastened to Cairo armed with charters issued by Mameluke sultans substantiating the Armenian ownership of the monastery. He obtained a decree reconfirming their ownership.¹² Seven years later, however, the Georgians and Latins jointly appealed to Sultan Malik Zahr Barquq claiming from the Armenians not only the monastery of St. James but also the chapel of Golgotha in the Holy Sepulcher. Once again the Armenians sent a delegation to Cairo and succeeded in thwarting the projected usurpation. The text of the decree certifying their sole possession of these sanctuaries¹³ indicates that another envoy had arrived from Georgia to pursue the Georgian objectives. Documents preserved in the archives of the Armenian patriarchate substantiate the fact that a similar attempt by the Georgians to seize the monastery in 1512 had also failed.¹⁴

Whereas the Armenians successfully withstood all Georgian efforts to annex their monastery of St. James, their endeavors to protect the church of Golgotha proved less successful. According to the available evidence, the Georgian efforts to obtain Golgotha began as early as the 1330's. Upon the protests of the Arme-

nians Sultan Malik Muhammad issued an edict in 1334 enjoining the local Muslim officials to observe the status quo.¹⁵ About a century later, however, the Georgian King Ivané took advantage of the visit to his country of an Egyptian merchant, Gha'ibi, who was known to be influential in the counsels of the sultan of Egypt. He showered Gha'ibi with gifts and bribes, and promised the sultan an annual supply of expensive gifts, servants, and concubines; exemption of Muslim nationals from taxation in Georgian territories; and a treaty professing Georgian-Egyptian friendship — on condition of course that the sultan would transfer the ownership of Golgotha to the Georgians. These enticing offers induced the sultan to accede to his wishes. Learning of this the Armenian Patriarch Martiros immediately left for Egypt in 1424 and recovered the sanctuary after much difficulty. Before a year had elapsed, Ivané succeeded, through the same means, in regaining possession of it; and once again Martiros journeyed to Cairo, and after expending much money in bribes recovered it for the second time.

A year later Ivané's gifts and bribes again induced the sultan to grant the sanctuary to the Georgians. When Martiros went to Egypt for the third time, he was told by some high-ranking Egyptian officials that he could in no way match the Georgian king's material inducements. It became amply evident to the patriarch that the sultan was using the sanctuary as a pawn to enrich his coffers at the expense of both parties. And as the financial resources of the Armenian see were almost completely depleted he lost all hope of retrieving the revered sanctuary. At the suggestion of the sultan, therefore, the patriarch acquired in its stead the Triforium of the Holy Sepulcher, which was converted into a church in 1439 and named the Second Golgotha.¹⁶ The victory of the Georgians did not last long, however, for soon after the fall of their kingdom in 1440 their monasteries and sanctuaries in the Holy City, including Golgotha, came under the control of their Greek coreligionists.¹⁷

INTERCOMMUNITY RIVALRIES UNDER OTTOMAN RULE, 1516-1800

The four centuries of Ottoman dominion in the Holy Land produced a marked change in the fortunes of the various Chris-

tian communities in the Holy Places. From the second half of the sixteenth century until the nineteenth century time and again the *praedominium* alternated, although generally the Greek Orthodox secured the balance of power in their favor at the expense of the Latins. Since the Latins were subjects of powers with whom the Ottoman empire was constantly engaged in war, the sultan's Greek and Armenian subjects in particular were treated with favor at the expense of the "Franks." During these centuries the possession of the Holy Places almost always remained in the forefront of international politics.¹⁸ The European Latin powers, especially France, supported Latin interests; the Orthodox cause was championed by the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople and, beginning in 1774, by Russia. The Armenians, deprived of such political protection, had to rely on their own resources, particularly their patriarchate and influential secular magnates in the capital. The Porte generally was inclined to defend its subject communities from Latin encroachments in the Holy Places, but the Catholics nonetheless could, through the payment of appropriate fees and bribes, secure concessions. During this period of international contention the smaller Christian sects in the Holy City, such as the Georgians and Serbians, either lost much of their holdings or dropped out altogether, because they were unable to bear the exactions of the Turkish government which was intent on making the utmost out of the dissensions and rivalries of the Christians.

The strongest and almost continuous challenge to the Armenians and their holdings in the Holy Land came from the Greek community, despite the fact that the charters issued in March 1517 to the Armenian and Greek patriarchates by the Ottoman conqueror of Jerusalem, Sultan Selim I, did no more than sanction the status quo.

The charter granted to the Armenian Patriarch Sargis indicates the allegiance which the Armenian congregation of Jerusalem immediately expressed to the Ottoman sultan. On the basis of ancient edicts, among which special mention is made of those granted by the Caliph Umar and Saladin, Selim guarantees the integrity of the Armenians' age-old possessions within and without the Holy City, as well as those of their dependent communities, the Abyssinians, Copts, and Syrians. The charter makes specific mention of certain, presumably major, institutions and sanc-

tuaries owned exclusively by this community, such as the monastery of St. James, the churches and monasteries of the Holy Archangels and the Holy Saviour, the church of St. John in the forecourt of the Holy Sepulcher, a church at Nablus, and other unspecified monasteries, hostels, dwellings, cemeteries, orchards, and olive groves in and near Bethlehem. Among the principal Christian shrines, the Holy Sepulcher, the church of St. Mary at Gethsemane, and the Grotto and the key to the northern gate of the cathedral of the Nativity at Bethlehem are all considered Armenian possessions. This does not, of course, represent a complete catalogue of Armenian holdings. Finally, the charter prohibits members of the imperial family, government ministers and officials, and others (presumably the Christian communities) from disturbing the ecclesiastical rites of the Armenians and their dependents or molesting their monasteries, sanctuaries, and other possessions.¹⁹

The charter which Selim I granted at the same time to the Greek patriarch of Jerusalem²⁰ secured the integrity of the Greek monasteries, churches, and other properties within and without the Holy City.²¹ The edict also proclaimed the primacy of the Greek patriarch among the ecclesiastical leaders of the Holy City, a position which the Greek incumbents always sought to assert under Ottoman dominion. The charter guaranteed to the Greek community fifteen private monasteries and churches within the limits of Jerusalem, among them the "Georgian monastery of St. James" in the forecourt of the cathedral of the Holy Sepulcher, which should not be confused with the Armenian monastery of St. James on Mount Zion. Among Greek holdings outside of the city the charter mentions a church on Mount Zion and "Christ's Prison" (which in later times they unsuccessfully sought to identify with the Armenian monastery of the Holy Saviour); the Georgian monasteries of the Holy Cross and St. Elijah; the church of St. George in the village of Bayt-Jala; and unspecified monasteries, churches, olive groves, and cemeteries in other villages. Of the principal Christian sanctuaries it specifically mentions as Greek possessions the four upper and lower arches in the Golgotha, the Holy Sepulcher, and the large central church opposite the Holy Sepulcher; the Sepulcher of St. Mary at Gethsemane; and the Grotto of the Nativity at Bethlehem, including the keys to the northern and southern gates of the cathedral.

In view of the fact both charters list the Sepulchers of Christ and St. Mary and the Grotto of the Nativity it must be assumed that the privileges to these sanctuaries were actually shared by the two communities. Neither charter defines these privileges or alludes to joint ownership, but no other explanation can be found for the specific references to the sanctuaries in both documents. The particular sanctuaries in the Holy Sepulcher which are designated as Greek possessions but which do not appear in the Armenian charter were undoubtedly held exclusively by the Greek community.

The significance of these two charters rest on the fact that they not only represented the first such imperial edicts issued by the Ottoman sultans to the two communities, but also constituted the juridical bases of the communities' status and holdings in the Holy Land. Time and again these charters figured prominently in the intercommunity controversies which followed the Ottoman conquest.

There is evidence of good will between the Latins and the Armenians in the sixteenth century. Shortly after Sultan Suleiman I's accession to the Ottoman throne in 1520 rumors of an impending Crusade were widespread. The Franciscans of Jerusalem, under suspicion of complicity, were placed under custody. Until their release their monastery (Cenacle) on Mount Zion, their chapel in the Holy Sepulcher, and other sanctuaries in Jerusalem were entrusted, at the behest of the Latin Superior, to the care of the Armenian patriarchate.²² And in 1552 when the Latins were expelled from the Cenacle by imperial decree the monks took refuge in the inner city, where they were given shelter by the Armenian patriarchate which placed at their disposal the monastery of the Holy Archangels until they acquired the monastery of the Holy Saviour from the Greeks.²³

On the other hand, in 1617 the Latins sought, through an imperial edict, the expulsion of the Armenians to Cyprus and the appropriation of their holdings in the Holy Places. The sultan rejected the plea on the basis of a unanimous report from the qadi and Muslim notables of Jerusalem testifying to the peaceful character of the Armenians and underscoring the large revenues for the imperial and local treasuries derived from Armenian pilgrims.²⁴

Three years later a more serious crisis was precipitated when

the Latins secured, through the French ambassador at Constantinople, an imperial decree giving them sole possession of the hitherto commonly held Holy Sepulcher, the church of St. Mary at Gethsemane, and the cathedral of the Nativity at Bethlehem. The edict limited the privileges of the other communities in these sanctuaries to the hanging of lanterns and candlesticks. The Armenian and Greek community leaders in the capital protested most vigorously to the Porte against the Latins' capricious claims and also against the coercive measures they employed to effect the terms of the edict. The custodians of the imperial properties, the mufti, and other Muslim notables at Jerusalem joined in the protest to the sultan, arguing that if the Holy Places were not owned jointly by all the Christian communities much financial loss would accrue to the imperial treasury. Such were the pressures from all quarters that in the end the sultan issued a proclamation in 1621 re-establishing the equal accessibility of the principal Holy Places to all the communities.²⁵

The Greek Orthodox were as aggressive as the Latins in their constant efforts to extend their holdings and privileges at the expense of the other Christians, including the Armenians, and the smaller communities affiliated with the Greek or Armenian churches. In 1606, for instance, the Greeks laid claim to some twenty-three monasteries at Jerusalem belonging to the Georgians, Serbians, and Abyssinians, on the grounds that these religious communities were under the direct jurisdiction and protection of the Greek patriarchate. This contention was valid only insofar as the first two were concerned, for the Abyssinians had always been regarded as dependents of the Armenian patriarchate. The attempt to appropriate these sanctuaries failed in 1606, but in due course all of them became Greek possessions.²⁶

A quarter of a century later during a visit to Constantinople the Greek Patriarch Theophanes III secured an imperial edict granting the Holy Places of Jerusalem to the Greek patriarchate. Returning to the Holy City in 1632, he demanded from the Latins the cathedral of the Nativity at Bethlehem and the Latin share of Golgotha. The Latins refused to comply, and secured the good offices of the Venetian ambassador at Constantinople to obtain a decree from the Porte confirming their possessions and privileges. In 1637, however, the Greek patriarch succeeded, on the strength of another imperial edict, in expelling the Latins from

the Nativity, and thus gained absolute control of the sanctuary.²⁷ This usurpation was of course effected at the expense of the Armenians, as well, who had shared possession of the cathedral. The bitter controversy that ensued with respect to the restoration of the Armenians' privileges was eventually resolved in 1656 by a compromise agreement between the two communities which minutely defined their respective rights to the various sections of the cathedral and the Grotto.²⁸

The resolution of any controversy was at best a temporary relaxation of intercommunity tensions. The rivalry was ever present, and Ottoman officials were often inclined to encourage dispute because of the opportunity to benefit from bribes. The aftermath of this Greco-Armenian settlement was no exception. Beginning with the incumbency of Patriarch Grigor Parontēr (1613-1645) and his successor Astuatsatur Taronets'i the Armenians had spent large sums of money in restoring their centuries-old ecclesiastical institutions in the Holy Land and in constructing new monasteries and churches and acquiring vineyards, lands, and other properties. As often happened, this growing prosperity whetted the appetites of the local officialdom and aroused the jealousy of the other Christian communities who regarded such a development as a serious blow to their own status and prestige. It was largely in consequence of this that a most serious crisis was precipitated by the Greeks.

Upon the assumption of the Ottoman grand vizierate by Mehmet Pasha Köprülü in September 1656 the Greek leaders at Constantinople accused the Armenian patriarchate of Jerusalem of gross violations of their privileges. Ostensibly to adjudicate the controversy, Köprülü invited the representatives of both parties to appear before the Porte's supreme judicial body. On the basis of imperial edicts, the Greek patriarch claimed a number of Armenian sanctuaries and monasteries. These included the monastery of St. James, the seat of the Armenian patriarchate, as well as all the sanctuaries and possessions of the Coptic, Abyssinian, and Syrian communities, whom he claimed as dependents of the Greek church. Not only did the Armenian lay representatives appointed by the see fail to make a satisfactory defense of their case, but the court ruled as fraudulent the charters and other documents which were put before it by the Armenians. The court therefore issued an edict assigning to the Greeks several Arme-

nian monasteries and all the possessions of the Copts, Abyssinians, and Syrians.

On the strength of this ruling, the Greeks appropriated first the sanctuaries which the Abyssinians had long held in Jerusalem.²⁹ These sanctuaries, as well as those of the Copts and Syrians, had in the main originally belonged to the Armenians, who had made the sites available to their communicant monophysites. Moreover, the Armenian patriarchate had assumed legal possession of the Abyssinian monasteries and sanctuaries because, owing to transportation difficulties, few Abyssinian monks remained in the Holy City.³⁰

In vain did Patriarch Astuatsatur journey to Constantinople to secure the reversal of the decision. In the meantime, the Greeks protested to Köprülü that the Armenians had refused to abandon the Abyssinian possessions to them, and accused Bishop Eghiazar, the staunchest defender of the interests of the Armenian patriarchate of Jerusalem, of having bribed governor Huseyin with 30,000 piasters to permit the construction of an Armenian church in Gaza. On the basis of these false accusations the Greeks secured another edict from Köprülü in 1658, which not only proclaimed the monastery of St. James a Greek possession, but also condemned Bishop Eghiazar to death. Eghiazar, who had befriended governor Hasan Pasha of Jerusalem and his father governor Huseyin Pasha of Gaza, succeeded in having the implementation of the terms of the decree postponed. However, when he sought the assistance of Tiyaroghlu Pasha, the governor of Damascus, in defending the rights of the patriarchate, he was summarily arrested. But Eghiazar soon secured his own release by giving a few purses of silver to the governor and by promising more of the same if he helped the Armenian cause. Cooperation was not difficult to obtain from corrupt Ottoman officials, and Tiyaroghlu was no exception. He took the keys to the monastery from the Armenians, but at the same time he dispatched an envoy to Köprülü to report that the Greek accusations were false and to request that the Armenians' possession of the disputed monastery be confirmed.

But neither the grand vizier nor his deputy was willing to accede to the Armenians' pleas and Tiyaroghlu's remonstrances. Yet, Tiyaroghlu permitted the Armenians to enter their monastery at Eastertime and after the departure of the pilgrims allowed

the monks to remain hidden there. The consequence of this was that Köprülü not only reprimanded the governor, but resolved to send Eghiazar, the principal "culprit," to the gallows. Eghiazar, however, left the Holy City and wandered about clandestinely to escape capture. Soon afterwards, Tiyaroghlu and eighteen other governors rebelled against the central Ottoman authority. Partly in order to finance the movement they held Eghiazar in custody for a year, assuring him that once the rebels succeeded in having one of themselves appointed grand vizier the issue of the monastery of St. James would be settled in favor of the Armenians. In the meantime the Armenians continued to explore every avenue to recover their most important institution. They even sent a delegation to the Tartar khan of Kafa in the Crimea to seek his intervention with Köprülü, but Köprülü was not swayed by the khan's intercession. Eventually the Greeks forced Tiyaroghlu to surrender the keys to the monastery. They quickly occupied the buildings and expelled the monastics. Moreover, subsequent to the defeat of the rebellious governors Eghiazar was finally arrested by the imperial authorities and incarcerated in prison.

These events, however, coincided with a development which had the gravest consequences for the Greek millet. The Porte discovered that the Greek Patriarch Parthenius III of Constantinople had urged the tsar of Russia and the authorities in Wallachia to occupy the "defenseless" Ottoman capital. The patriarch was publicly hanged in his sacerdotal vestments, and his body, which was left on the gallows for eight days, was cast into the sea. Many Greek magnates were imprisoned. And searches continued for other accomplices, including the Greek patriarch of Jerusalem. The patriarch's treachery of course placed the whole Greek community in disfavor, a fact which proved propitious for the Armenians.

The grand vizier finally sent an investigator to Jerusalem to ascertain the facts regarding the ownership of the monastery of St. James. The qadi and other local Muslim officials testified that not only this particular sanctuary but also several others in Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and elsewhere had for countless generations been the lawful possessions of the Armenian community. In 1659, therefore, the sultan issued an edict on the strength of which Eghiazar recovered the monastery from the Greeks, who had occupied it for a period of eighteen months. Thus came to a con-

clusion an episode which might be regarded as characteristic of the perennial intercommunity disputes involving the Holy Places.³¹

An irritant which for some years exacerbated Armeno-Latin relations was the Latins' refusal to permit the Armenians to celebrate mass in the revered shrine of the Holy Sepulcher. Bishop Eghiazar addressed himself to the rectification of this wrong. When his attempts at a conciliatory settlement of the dispute failed, he obtained two imperial edicts, in 1665 and 1666. The Latins, however, successfully refused to comply. Indeed, it was not until the year 1829 that the Armenians were able to re-establish their privileges in the sanctuary of the Holy Sepulcher.³²

The last significant event in the seventeenth century affecting the Holy Places was the Latins' acquisition in 1690, through the mediation of the French ambassador at Constantinople, of a number of sanctuaries, including sole ownership of the shrine of the Holy Sepulcher, Golgotha, and the cathedral and Grotto of the Nativity at Bethlehem. In the main, these sanctuaries had been under the virtual control of the Greeks. The Latins held them until 1757, when the Greeks succeeded in recovering them. Meantime, however, the Greeks, too weak to counter the French ambassador's influence with the Porte, sought to compensate for their losses by trying to wrest the monastery of St. James from the Armenians once again and to prevent the Armenian patriarch from entering the sanctuary of the Holy Sepulcher on Easter eve. Both attempts proved unsuccessful.³³

In 1734 the Greeks made another serious attempt to seize the monastery of St. James, and to deprive the Armenians of all their rights and privileges in the Holy Places. The incumbent Armenian patriarch, Grigor Shght'ayakir, had substantially increased his institution's real holdings, restored edifices that had long been neglected, and constructed a number of new churches and other establishments.³⁴ These manifestations of the Armenian see's prosperity apparently aroused the jealousy of the Greeks.

Mindful of the Greek ambitions, but also desirous of settling their differences amicably, Patriarch Grigor acceded to the Greeks' proposal of a pact of mutual friendship in 1734. As a precautionary measure against any possible Greek perfidy, however, the Armenians had the Porte reconfirm the charters pertaining to their rights to the various Holy Places and the edicts testifying to their private

possessions and those of the Copts, Syrians, and Abyssinians.³⁵ This proved to be a judicious precaution, for soon after the conclusion of the pact the Greek Patriarch Melitius of Jerusalem went to Constantinople to pursue his schemes. With a view to dispelling Armenian suspicions he proposed that a similar friendship pact be concluded between the Greek and Armenian patriarchs in Constantinople; this document was signed in January 1735.³⁶ At the same time Melitius secretly obtained an edict from the Porte which proclaimed as Greek possessions all the Armenian holdings in the Holy Places and declared the Syrian, Abyssinian, and Coptic communities to be dependents of the Greeks. This time the Greek claim to St. James was based upon a document alleging that when the Armenians recovered the monastery from the Greeks in 1659, they had agreed to pay an annual fee of 200 pieces of gold as rental.³⁷ Equally clandestinely, Melitius had the edict registered in the records of the court at Jerusalem. Patriarch Grigor, however, learned of the edict from his Muslim friend Abdul Wahhab, and obtained through Patriarch Hovhannēs Kolot of Constantinople a new decree canceling the one just issued to the Greeks.³⁸ The controversy was henceforth waged in the open.

The Greeks realized that so long as the pro-Armenian Grand Vizier Hekim-oghlu Ali Pasha was in power their efforts, including large expenditures, were doomed to failure. They feared that they might even lose the Abyssinian sanctuaries which they had appropriated earlier. Hence, they proposed that the Armenians, in the interest of harmony, destroy the edict secured by Patriarch Grigor from the Porte — a suggestion flatly turned down by the cautious Armenians.

It was apparent that the Greeks were awaiting a propitious moment to pursue their designs. This opportunity came when Ali Pasha was replaced as grand vizier by Gürji İsmail Pasha, of Georgian origin. With this change in the Ottoman administration the Greeks won to their cause not only the grand vizier but other high-ranking officials of the Porte as well. In a new petition they argued that, in accordance with charters issued by Caliph Umar and other Ottoman sultans, all the Holy Places belonged to the Greeks, and all the Christian communities of Jerusalem were subordinate to the Greek patriarch. They claimed that the Armenians were but newcomers to the Holy City, and that the "Greek-owned monastery of St. James" had merely been rented to them.

Moreover, they demanded the death penalty for several leading Armenian magnates at Constantinople whom they identified as the authors of the Armenian deceit.³⁹ In vain did the Armenians seek to secure influential supporters in the government, while the Greeks continued their agitations, climaxed by a large demonstration before the imperial palace demanding the "return" of the monastery of St. James. In the end the decree issued to the Armenians in 1734 was officially revoked, and the Greek claims were revalidated, especially respecting the monastery of St. James.⁴⁰

After a very brief tenure of office, however, Gürji was replaced by Esseyid Mehmet Pasha. One of the first acts of the new grand vizier was to cancel the Greek and revalidate the Armenian edicts, pending a thorough investigation of the controversy. The Latins, undoubtedly sensing that Greek ambitions threatened their position as well, supported the Armenians in this dispute. The local Latin clergy encouraged Patriarch Grigor to remain firm in his resolve,⁴¹ and in the capital the Latin and Armenian leaders temporarily cast aside their religious differences and began to cooperate in an effort to frustrate the Greek designs.

At the urgent invitation of the millet's leaders, Patriarch Grigor arrived in the capital in July 1736.⁴² The litigation which followed was settled in favor of the Greeks, who secured another imperial decree recognizing the monastery of St. James as a Greek possession.⁴³ Patriarchs Kolot and Grigor urgently appealed to the French ambassador, Le Marquis de Villeneuve, to intercede in their behalf before the Porte. They made similar appeals to King Louis XV of France and Pope Clement XII.⁴⁴ What, if anything, the latter did in furtherance of the Armenian cause is unknown. The French ambassador's intercession was delayed for some time because of the Ottomans' involvement in war with Austria, but in 1739 the belligerent powers concluded a treaty of peace. De Villeneuve played a decisive role in the peace negotiations as mediator, and his prestige and influence within Ottoman circles was thereby considerably enhanced. Fearful that in consequence their position was seriously weakened, and apprehensive that they might even incur losses, the Greeks deemed it politic to withdraw their claims.

As a result, on April 7, 1739, the Greek and Armenian patriarchs of Constantinople and Jerusalem and their respective lay magnates signed a pact⁴⁵ according to which both communities

were to maintain their respective privileges and possessions; the disputed minor communities were recognized as dependents of the Armenians; the Greeks categorically renounced their claims to the monastery of St. James and other Armenian sanctuaries in the Holy Places; and, insofar as rights and privileges to the common shrines were concerned, the equality of both communities, but with Greek primacy, was acknowledged. The agreement, which was drawn up by De Villeneuve, paved the way for the issuance in 1740 of three imperial edicts guaranteeing the rights of the Armenian, Greek, and Latin communities in the Holy City.

This dispute had cost the Armenians an estimated total expenditure of 500 *kises* (purses) of gold.⁴⁶ This not only drained the patriarchate's financial resources, but impelled it to incur heavy debts. Returning to Jerusalem after an absence of over four years, Patriarch Grigor expressed the Armenians' predicament in the Holy City thus in his report to the monastic congregation:

Adjudge us and our antagonists, oh Lord!, for they subjected us to utter poverty and privation. I, the sinful Grigor vardapet, servant of this holy see, bequeath to those who follow me this statement as an irrevocable trust and last testament: never trust the Greeks and Latins; whereas the Muslims [*aylazgik'*] harass us only [to obtain] silver from us, but these [Greeks and Latins] do so on account of our holy faith; they are implacable enemies of our share in the Holy Places and of our holy see. Hence, it is incumbent on you to be circumspect and vigilant of them, for that which I have written I have personally experienced, and so that you should know from whose evil doings we seek the Lord to save our holy see and nation. Amen! ⁴⁷

The patriarch's reference to the Latins as well as the Greeks can be explained by the fact that soon after the conclusion of the Greco-Armenian dispute the Franciscans deprived the Armenians of a number of privileges in the cathedral of the Holy Sepulcher, and similar usurpations were attempted in the cathedral of the Nativity toward the end of 1739. Since the Latin clergy and the French ambassador had been vigorously supporting the Armenian cause, the patriarch sought to resolve these issues amicably; but the Latins refused to accede to his protests or the ambassador's remonstrances. Finally, in 1742, the patriarch appealed to King Louis XV of France and the Roman papacy to intercede. It appears that these pleas, as well as the good offices of the new

French ambassador, Castellani, secured the desired results, for henceforth the Latins tempered their attitude.⁴⁸

After a decade of comparative quiet a Greco-Latin controversy involving the church of St. Mary at Gethsemane developed into a crisis which affected the Armenians, as well. The dispute stemmed from the Latins' unilateral decision to replace the old gate of the church and to repair its roof. The sanctuary had been commonly owned by the three major communities, and the restorations therefore ought to have been effected by common consent. Despite Greek protestations, however, the Latins obtained an imperial edict in 1755 which not only permitted them to restore the sanctuary but gave them sole possession of it. Failing in their efforts to prevent the restorations, the Greeks resorted to violence, attacking Latins in the Holy Sepulcher and destroying their ornaments and sacred vessels. The controversy came before the Porte's highest judicial body, and in 1757 the Greeks secured an imperial edict proclaiming the Holy Sepulcher, the church of St. Mary at Gethsemane, and the cathedral of the Nativity at Bethlehem as exclusively Greek possessions.⁴⁹ In October 1758 the Greek patriarch expelled the Latins from these three sanctuaries.

At the same time the Greeks expelled the Armenians, as well, and also sought to get control of the Armenian monasteries, including St. James. But in 1759 the Armenian possessions and privileges in these previously commonly held sanctuaries were restored through an imperial edict secured by Patriarch Hakob Nalian of Constantinople.⁵⁰ A similar Greek attempt to deprive the Armenians of their share in the common places of worship in 1764 also failed.⁵¹

THE GRECO-ARMENIAN CRISIS OF 1808-1813 AND OTHER INTER-COMMUNITY CONTROVERSIES UNTIL THE CRIMEAN WAR

By far the most serious Greek threat to the Armenian position in the Holy City occurred in the first decade of the nineteenth century. The Greeks had become so influential in the Ottoman capital that, through the immense wealth of their secular leaders, they could easily sway the governmental circles in the furtherance of their ambition to become absolute masters of the Holy Places. Employing the customary means, the Greeks succeeded

in securing imperial edicts in 1802 and 1804 granting the common sanctuaries to themselves and limiting to visits the Armenian privileges.⁵² These documents, which had been obtained clandestinely, were not revealed until 1806 because of an internal political crisis at Constantinople occasioned by rebellious pashas and the Janissaries. In the meantime the Armenians, having been apprised of the edicts by some friendly Ottoman officials, deemed it prudent to prepare for the defense of their case in the event that the Greeks made their demands public. Outwardly, however, cordial relations were maintained. For example, the Greeks and the Armenians joined with the Latins in a common appeal to the Porte to separate Jerusalem from the jurisdiction of the governor of Damascus, whose harassments had been a source of concern to all of them.⁵³

When the Greeks realized that the Armenians were beginning to show signs of grave concern, their Patriarch Antimos, who resided at Constantinople, put forth before the high-ranking officials of the Porte the edicts which he had guarded in secrecy, and openly demanded the Armenian possessions in the Holy City, which he alleged had been unlawfully wrested from the Greeks. At this juncture, the Armenians were at a distinct disadvantage, for when the government ministers asked to see documentary proof of their ownership of the disputed sanctuaries the Armenians were able to present only copies of the pertinent edicts. As a result of the constant dispatching of these documents to and from Jerusalem during previous litigations the originals could be found neither at Jerusalem nor at Constantinople. The original copies of these edicts were also missing from the records of the imperial chancery, probably because the Greeks had connived with certain Ottoman officials to have them destroyed.⁵⁴ As the Porte was unwilling to base its judgment upon "unauthentic duplicate copies," the danger threatening the privileges and possessions of the Armenians in the Holy City was grave indeed.

Sudden political upheavals in the Ottoman capital in 1807, however, temporarily turned the tide in favor of the Armenians. As a result of a successful Janissary revolt Sultan Selim III was deposed on May 29, and several of his ministers, including those who had strongly supported the Greek claims to the Armenian possessions, were summarily put to death. In July 1808 Selim's successor, Mustafa IV, was also deposed and replaced by Mahmut

II. These dramatic changes brought to the fore of Ottoman politics the new sultan's principal supporter, Alemdar Mustafa Pasha, who assumed the office of grand vizier. This appointment appeared to be most propitious for the Armenians, as his two Armenian bankers secured a pledge from him officially restoring the status quo in relation to the Holy Places and Armenian possessions.⁵⁶

Indeed, during the recent political developments the issue had almost been forgotten, but there were fears that the Greeks might still insist upon their claims on the basis of the edicts of 1802 and 1804 which, technically speaking, were still in effect. A most unexpected event suddenly sparked the controversy anew. On the morning of September 30, 1808, fire broke out in the Armenian section of the cathedral of the Holy Sepulcher. It quickly spread to Golgotha, the Greek cathedral, and around the sanctuary of the Holy Sepulcher, causing the destruction of the cupola. The Muslim guards of the sanctuary testified before official investigators that the fire had been accidental, but the Greeks and Latins insisted that it was a deliberate act of the Armenians; hence, the qadi issued a verdict holding the Armenians responsible for the mishap. It soon became apparent that the Greeks were determined to take advantage of this opportunity to gain sole possession of the sanctuary. The Latins, therefore, reversed their testimony regarding the Armenian responsibility for the fire.

The critical question, however, was who would be authorized to make the necessary restorations, since in the process of rebuilding one could easily make alterations that would infringe upon the individual sanctuaries and privileges of the others. The privilege was secured by the Greeks, and in the process of minor initial reconstructions they usurped a number of the Latin and Armenian sanctuaries in the cathedral. In vain did the two communities seek to obtain permits to restore their own possessions.⁵⁶

The Armenians suffered another setback with the suicide of Grand Vizier Alemdar Mustafa Pasha shortly after the burning of his offices on November 2, 1808, by a group of rebellious Janissaries.⁵⁷ With this loss of a high-ranking supporter of the Armenian cause the Greeks were emboldened to seek further aggrandizement at the expense of the Armenians as well as the other Christian communities.⁵⁸ They made large-scale preparations for restoring the Holy Sepulcher without the participation of the Latins and Armenians. They brought to Jerusalem a Greek archi-

tect, Komnenos Kalfa, to supervise the reconstruction, and shipped one hundred and fifty artisans and a huge supply of building materials for the purpose. But, according to Ottoman tradition, the work could begin only after the issuance of a permit by the court at Jerusalem. During this transaction, it was revealed that the Greeks had secured far-reaching privileges from the Porte. In addition to the right of restoring the Holy Sepulcher, the Ottoman government had assigned to them not only all the commonly held Holy Places, with the proviso that by the grace of the Greeks the other communities would have one altar each in these sanctuaries, but also several monasteries belonging to the other Christians, including the Armenian monastery of St. James. In consequence of the strong protestations of the Latins and Armenians, however, the court at Jerusalem ruled that the Greeks could restore only their own portion of the cathedral. And, pending a definitive decision of the imperial court at Constantinople, it also postponed the Greek appropriation of the Holy Places and private monasteries.⁵⁹

On April 23, 1809, a large group of Armenian ecclesiastics at Constantinople addressed a personal appeal to the sultan reminding him of the millet's age-old privileges in the Holy City as confirmed by the edicts of Sultan Selim I and his successors.⁶⁰ A second appeal was submitted on July 23, this time by some five hundred people, clergymen of all ranks and civilian magnates. The patriarchate also enlisted the unqualified support and active cooperation of the Uniate-Armenian community.⁶¹ These demonstrations of Armenian determination in defense of their interests had a salutary impact on the sultan, who finally directed a thorough investigation of the Greco-Armenian controversy before a special court, presided over by the Sheyhül-islam (chief of the Muslim religious hierarchy in the Ottoman empire) Dürrizade Abdullah Efendi, and consisting of three state ministers and three ulama.⁶²

The first session of the court, which lasted from August 2 to 16, 1809,⁶³ dealt with three issues: the imperial edicts of 1802 and 1804 granting all the Holy Places and the Armenian monastery of St. James to the Greeks; the question of jurisdiction over the Syrian, Coptic, and Abyssinian communities, at the core of which lay the dispensation of their sanctuaries and other holdings; and the privilege of reconstructing the cathedral of the Holy Sepul-

cher. The conflicting claims of the Greek and Armenian disputants could be resolved only on the basis of authentic charters. In this respect the Greeks enjoyed an obvious advantage since their patriarch of Jerusalem generally resided at Constantinople and their documents were kept in that city. Nevertheless, a number of charters presented by the Greeks were ruled to be unauthentic; and others were found to contain serious discrepancies when compared with the originals — a fact which aroused suspicions that they had manipulated these changes by bribing officials of the imperial chancery. On the other hand, the Armenians were unable to produce their original charters. Even the official copies had been lost in the fire when the grand vizier's offices were burned. Despite this, the court ruled in favor of the Armenians respecting ownership of the monasteries and churches and the sanctuaries in the jointly held Holy Places. However, pending presentation of the charters, the Armenian holdings were recorded as residuary possessions (*ikamet*), while those of the Greeks as proprietary possessions (*mutasarrif*). The distinction between these two classifications was no doubt significant, especially if the Armenians failed to produce documentary evidence of their claims. Secondly, the court ruled that it would recognize the disputed monophysite communities as dependents of the Armenians if the charters substantiated this. And, thirdly, the tribunal reaffirmed that the Greeks should be entitled to restore the Holy Sepulcher.

The Armenian charters finally arrived from Jerusalem in mid-October 1809. There were nine documents, the most important of which were those issued by Selim I (1517) and Suleiman I (1520). Sultan Mahmut II ordered a thorough search for the records of these edicts in the various imperial chanceries. At long last, they found the yearbook of Selim's conquest of Jerusalem, which specifically recorded the sanctuaries and monasteries owned by the individual Christian communities. At another chancery they found the record of the edict issued to the Armenians by Sultan Mahmut I in 1739. The imperial court was reconvened to continue the case in the light of the charters submitted by the Armenians.

At the second session of the court, which lasted from April 7 to 14, 1810,⁶⁴ the Armenian representatives submitted two requests: confirmation of their possessions according to the terms

of their ancient charters; and permission to rebuild their private sites in the Holy Sepulcher. Three documents presented by the Greeks as evidence against the Armenian claims were rejected by the court. These were a general indictment of the Armenians signed by many Greek nationals; the charter allegedly issued by Caliph Umar to the Greek Patriarch Sophronius, which was ruled unauthentic; and a document said to bear Prophet Muhammad's fingerprint and to have been given to the Greek monks of Mount Sinai. After comparing the Greek and Armenian edicts with the official records, the court ruled that the Armenian documents were more authentic. The session of April 14 dealt with the issue of the Abyssinian, Coptic, and Syrian communities. Although the Armenians submitted a judicial decree (*ilam*) from the court at Jerusalem substantiating their centuries-old jurisdiction over these communities, a definitive ruling on this issue was postponed.⁶⁵

On May 19, 1810, the tribunal reconvened to read the official proclamation issued by Sultan Mahmut II.⁶⁶ In essence, it asked whether the two contending parties accepted the validity of Selim I's charters, which the reigning sultan regarded as the cornerstone of his imperial decision. It announced that authority over the disputed smaller communities should be determined in accordance with the preference of these bodies as declared before the qadi of Jerusalem. The reconstruction of the Holy Sepulcher was entrusted to the Greeks, not as sole owners of the sanctuary, but in the sultan's behalf. The only objection raised by the Armenians was that in the process of rebuilding Armenian sites in the cathedral the Greeks had made changes which were contrary to Armenian customs and rites. In view of this, the court ruled, with the concurrence of the Greek representatives, that those restorations which violated the original structure should be torn down.

The imperial edict was finally issued on January 13, 1813, that is, some thirty months after the court had completed its task.⁶⁷ This document⁶⁸ reproduced *in toto* the charters which the Ottoman conqueror, Selim I, had granted to the Armenian and Greek patriarchs in 1517. As seen earlier these documents enumerated in considerable detail the privileges and possessions of each of these communities in the commonly held Holy Places, as well as their private monasteries, churches, and other holdings within

and without Jerusalem. The new edict accepted Selim's charters as the legal basis of the two communities' status in the Holy City. All subsequent charters which violated the letter or spirit of these were declared null and void, including the edicts of 1802 and 1804. The edict proclaimed as law the rulings of the imperial court, reaffirming the Armenian privileges in the common sanctuaries and their private monasteries and possessions. The only outstanding issue concerned the status of the disputed dependents, and this was to be determined on the basis of the wishes of the communities involved.⁶⁹

Shortly thereafter Sultan Mahmut appointed a commission to supervise the implementation of imperial edicts. More specifically, it was to examine the Greek reconstruction of the Holy Sepulcher; to settle the question of the status of the dependent communities; and to restore to the Armenians their privileges and sanctuaries in the Holy Sepulcher, the church of St. Mary at Gethsemane, and the cathedral of the Nativity at Bethlehem.

When the commission arrived in Jerusalem in May 1813, however, the Greeks refused to recognize its authority. And the local Ottoman officials, notably the qadi, who presumably had been won over by the Greeks, did everything to impede the commission's progress. By July all the commissioners had left Jerusalem except Nuri Efendi, who single-handedly sought the scrupulous enforcement of the imperial edict.⁷⁰ Sultan Mahmut sent strict instructions to the governor of Damascus and the new qadi of Jerusalem, Seyid Musa Efendi, and other councilors to cooperate with Nuri Efendi. He also issued a new decree which enjoined that possession of and privileges in the church of the Nativity at Bethlehem and the church of St. Mary at Gethsemane should be divided equally between the Greeks and Armenians, that is, in conformity with the status quo prevailing prior to the Greek usurpations. In conclusion, the sultan threatened the severest punishment to those who interfered with the implementation of his instructions.⁷¹

In consequence of the sultan's firm stand and Nuri Efendi's determined tenacity, the Armenians succeeded, in the main, not only in safeguarding the privileges which they had enjoyed immediately prior to the recent controversy, but also in recovering a substantial number of privileges which they had lost long ago on account of Greek encroachments.⁷² The issue of the smaller

monophysite communities was settled when the court at Jerusalem ascertained that for centuries they had been under the jurisdiction of the Armenian patriarchate.⁷³

It is interesting that this controversy cost the Armenian patriarchate of Jerusalem 899,564 piasters in gifts and bribes to the Ottoman officials of the vilayet of Damascus and of Jerusalem alone. This is in addition to the vast expenditures incurred during the proceedings in Constantinople.⁷⁴

The Latins, both at Constantinople and Jerusalem, had shown every indication of sympathy for the Armenians during this bitter dispute. Its resolution, however, was the occasion for new antagonism. For the Armenians had recovered their long-lost prerogative of celebrating mass on the altar of the manger in the Grotto of the Nativity, a privilege hitherto enjoyed by the Latins alone. Furthermore, while the Armenians regained their equal share to the church of St. Mary at Gethsemane, the same had been denied to the Latins.

In 1814 this antagonism erupted into a dispute between the two communities over a passageway in the Armenian chapel of the cathedral of the Nativity, which the Latins used to go from their adjacent monastery to the Grotto, frequently disrupting the Armenian services. The Latins now objected to the carpets which the Armenians customarily laid in this passageway, and also insisted on free traffic, including laymen, through the chapel. Moreover, the Latins began to encroach upon the Armenian privileges in the Holy Sepulcher at Jerusalem.⁷⁵ During the litigation which followed, the Latins argued that the privileges secured by the Armenians in both sanctuaries had been achieved deceitfully, but the court ruled that their claims were unfounded. Having failed in the court the Latins sought to intimidate the qadi and the Muslim councilors by threatening to abandon the Holy City, but this maneuver failed to produce the intended effect.⁷⁶ They continued to harass the Armenians in the cathedral of the Nativity until April 1819, when the door of the disputed passageway was blocked by court order.⁷⁷ In 1824, however, the Latins succeeded in having the order reversed, and the door was reopened. Since the Armenian authorities at Constantinople did not wish to aggravate Latino-Armenian relations further, they advised the patriarchate of Jerusalem to refrain from opposing the Franciscan monks.⁷⁸

At this time only the Greeks and Latins enjoyed the privilege of celebrating mass in the sanctuary of the Holy Sepulcher. In 1829 the deputy of the Armenian patriarchate at Constantinople, Zak'aria Vardapet, encouraged by Sultan Mahmut's sympathy for the Armenians, petitioned for this right, which the Armenians had once enjoyed. He secured the necessary decree in May of that year. In vain did the Latins and Greeks try to have the edict rescinded.⁷⁹ So encouraged was Zak'aria by his triumph that he also petitioned the sultan to restore to the Armenians the ownership of Golgotha which had belonged to them until its occupation by the Georgians in the fifteenth century, and which now was held by the Greeks. The request was obviously imprudent and inopportune, for retrocession was sure to anger the Greeks and Russians, as well as the Latins. Moreover, the Turco-Russian peace treaty had just been concluded. No wonder, then, that the Porte denied the petition. Since Zak'aria had submitted his petition completely unbeknownst to the Armenian authorities at Constantinople, he was banished for a while to the island of Cyprus in March 1830.⁸⁰

In the beginning of 1832 Sultan Mahmut II issued an edict requiring the Christian millets to register all the real properties of their religious and philanthropic institutions in the office of the custodian of endowed properties. The law, which was designed to exercise direct control over these institutions, also stipulated that henceforth transactions affecting the purchase and sale of such properties should be effected through the same office, which would also exercise the power of supervising their revenues and expenditures. Fearful that the implementation of this law would have the most serious consequences for the Armenian ecclesiastical, philanthropic, and educational institutions, whose maintenance largely depended upon their endowed properties, the millet's authorities at Constantinople sought every available means to have it rescinded. This was eventually achieved by the Armenian magnate Harut'iun Pēzjian on February 12, 1832, by means of a personal appeal to the sultan himself.⁸¹

As in the case of the fire at the Holy Sepulcher in 1808, so an earthquake in 1834 occasioned a most serious controversy between the Latins, Greeks, and Armenians. The disaster caused destruction in a number of Christian churches in the Holy City, notably the cupola of the church of the Ascension on the Mount

of Olives. Through the mediation of the French consul at Jerusalem, the Latins secured an edict from Muhammad Ali, viceroy of Egypt, to restore this sanctuary, despite the fact that the chapel was shared by the three communities. Upon the protests of the Greeks and Armenians, the qadi ruled that these two communities also should participate in the restoration. This arrangement would, perhaps, have resolved the issue; but the Armenians sought not only to protect their privileges but to extend them, as well.

Adjacent to the church of the Ascension, there had been an Armenian monastery which had been demolished by the native Muslims, who built a mosque on the site. In 1836 the Armenians sought and obtained the right to restore the dome and chapel of the church and to build a new monastery adjacent to it in place of the one demolished by the Muslims. Moreover, a year earlier the Armenian leaders at Constantinople had secured an imperial decree permitting them to make restorations in the Church of the Nativity and the Holy Sepulcher, and sanctioning the terms of a 1613 edict which limited the privileges of the Greeks and Latins in the church of the Ascension to occasional visits. These two achievements proved to be tactical errors, for they helped unite the Greeks and Latins against the Armenians. The Greeks employed every means at their disposal to prevent these restorations. At the same time the Latins attempted, through the French diplomatic representatives in the Ottoman empire, to have the Armenian constructions on the Mount of Olives demolished, and sought to gain sole possession of the church of the Ascension. Both sides made vigorous protests to the Sublime Porte and the viceroyalty of Egypt.

The controversy became exacerbated when the Latins took advantage of this opportunity to extend their privileges in other commonly held sanctuaries. Muhammad Ali instructed the governor of Damascus to adjudicate the Armeno-Latin controversy. With the arrival of the governor's representative in Jerusalem, the local court heard the Latins' demands for various sanctuaries at Jerusalem, Gethsemane, the Mount of Olives, Bethlehem, and so forth, and the counterarguments of the Armenians, but it failed to resolve any of the issues. Soon afterwards, however, an imperial edict supported the Armenian position and emphatically prohibited the demolition of their constructions on the Mount of Olives.

To complicate further the already intricate situation, the Greeks succeeded, in the last months of 1836, in having the edicts obtained by the Armenians for restorations in the Holy Sepulcher and Nativity canceled. Moreover, in February 1837 they secured from the Porte a decree assigning them the sole right to restore the Holy Places. On the basis of this, they too demanded the demolition of the constructions on the Mount of Olives. When the judge refused to issue such an order, the Greeks demanded, through the Russian consul at Jerusalem, an investigation of the controversy by the authorities of the viceroyalty of Egypt.

A special court was convened which after investigation reaffirmed the legality of the Armenian constructions. Inexplicably the Porte was not fully satisfied with this seemingly conclusive finding, and in August 1838 it dispatched a special commissioner (*mübashir*) to investigate the constructions. It became obvious that the Porte could no longer withstand the concerted Greek and Latin overt and covert protestations. When the *mübashir* reported that the constructions in question should be demolished, the Latins were granted an edict to effect the decision. On September 11, 1839, the edict was reaffirmed by the court at Jerusalem; whereupon the Latin and Greek clergy and a large mob of their local communicants rushed to the Mount of Olives, and within a few hours demolished the Armenian constructions, including the newly built monastery. The triumphant mob then paraded in the city with drums and trumpets, songs and dances, heaping much insult upon the grieved monastics when they passed by the Armenian monastery of St. James.⁸²

THE CRIMEAN WAR AND THE STATUS QUO IN THE HOLY PLACES

In 1847 the Latin patriarchate of Jerusalem, which had been dormant since the fall of the Latin kingdom, was revived under the aegis of France, and assumed direction of all Roman Catholic interests in the Holy Land. This development coincided with the intensification of Latin attempts to gain predominance in the Holy Places, particularly at the expense of the Greek Orthodox, with the aid of the Catholic powers.

The revival of the Latin struggle for control of the commonly held dominical sanctuaries was sparked by a seemingly insignificant incident. The Latins had affixed to the altar of the Grotto of the Nativity a silver aureole bearing the Latin inscription "Hic

Virgine Maria Iesus Christus natus est. 1717." On the morning of October 19, 1847, the Latins discovered that the aureole had been removed. Their irate monks and laymen made violent attacks on the Greek and Armenian ecclesiastics. The Greeks prevented the replacement of the aureole and attempted to affix one of their own in its place. More importantly, the Latin demand for permission to replace the aureole was denied by the governmental authorities. Although the perpetrators of the theft were not apprehended, the complicity of the Greeks seemed to be in little doubt.

This incident was but a prelude to the grave crisis which soon followed. The Latin patriarch of Jerusalem, Joseph Valerga, made a trip to Europe in 1849. During his travels he appealed to Pope Pius IX and the Catholic royalty of Europe, notably Louis Napoleon of France, to demand from the Porte the restoration to the Franciscans of the Holy Places they possessed prior to 1757. These included, principally, the Rotunda and the Edicule in the Holy Sepulcher, as well as its courtyard; the church of St. Mary at Gethsemane; and the cathedral of the Nativity at Bethlehem. After gaining possession of these the Latins, he promised, would not interfere with services of the Greek and Armenian communities, provided they obtained prior permission of the Franciscan authorities. As the assumed protector of the Catholics of the Ottoman empire, Louis Napoleon dispatched Eugène Boré to Jerusalem to investigate the Latins' demands. Acting on the basis of Boré's one-sided inquiries and report,⁸³ the French representative at Constantinople, General Aupik, on behalf of his government and the Catholic kingdoms of Austria, Belgium, Spain, and Sardinia, in 1850 submitted to the Porte Valerga's demand. Russia immediately championed the cause of the Greeks. The Russian ambassador to Constantinople, in behalf of his government, demanded that the status quo in the Holy Places be maintained.

Thus what had started as a controversy involving the Christian sanctuaries soon developed into an international political conflict causing no little concern to the Ottoman government. The Porte sought a compromise solution, designed to satisfy the Latins without jeopardizing the Greek privileges. After due deliberation the Ottoman council of ministers declared that the principal dominical sanctuaries were common to all the Christian com-

munities, with each church enjoying the privilege of performing its services and rites.

In the fall of 1852 an official of the Porte, Affi Bey, arrived in Jerusalem to enforce the decision. He first arranged to have the cupola and other parts of the Holy Sepulcher repaired under government supervision. He then permitted the Franciscans to celebrate mass in the church of St. Mary at Gethsemane, with rights equal to those of the Greeks and Armenians but without a private place in the sanctuary. Upon further instructions from the Porte, Affi Bey allowed the Latins to replace the stolen aureole in the Grotto of the Nativity. But the basic issues remained unresolved.

The Russian government demanded that the Porte's decisions regarding the Holy Places be incorporated into a Russo-Turkish treaty. In particular they wanted affirmation of the rights and privileges which the Ottomans had granted to the Greek Orthodox church since the occupation of Constantinople in 1453. Sultan Abdul Mejid pledged that all the privileges granted to the Christian communities, especially the Greek, would be respected, but he emphatically rejected Russia's demand on the grounds that the sovereignty of the Ottoman state was being violated. On May 25, 1853, the sultan proclaimed the religious freedom of all his subject peoples, and reaffirmed the privileges hitherto granted by the state to the Christian communities.⁸⁴ The sultan's edict failed to impress Russia, however, for she had little faith in the sincerity of Ottoman promises.

Having failed to obtain treaty guarantees, Tsar Nicholas sent an army to occupy Moldavia and Wallachia; whereupon France and Great Britain dispatched their fleets to the Dardanelles to protect the territorial integrity of the Ottoman empire. When on November 18, 1853, the Turkish fleet was destroyed by Russia at Sinope, the French and British battleships entered the Black Sea. In the ensuing Crimean War Austria, too, joined the Western powers against Russia.⁸⁵

The Treaty of Paris of March 1856,⁸⁶ which terminated the Russian threat to the Ottoman empire, left the position of the contesting communities in the Holy Places as it was. The sultan guaranteed the protection of his subject Christian communities and freedom from discrimination on account of race or religion. It was understood that this guarantee did not permit any of the

signatory powers to interfere with the sultan's relations with his subjects. And Russia gave up her claim to be the lawful protector of the Christians in the Ottoman empire. Ownership of and rights in the Holy Places remained unchanged. Realizing that the intricate questions affecting these sanctuaries could not be left to the jurisdiction of local officials at Jerusalem, the sultan declared that all matters relating to the Holy Places were to be referred to the Sublime Porte itself.⁸⁷

This firm Ottoman policy did not bring an end to rivalries and disputes. In 1864, for instance, the Greeks managed to secure a writ from the local Ottoman officials to construct a small door in the courtyard of the Holy Sepulcher. Upon the vigorous protests of the Latin and Armenian patriarchates, Governor Izzet Pasha removed the door built by the Greeks and replaced it with a new one at the government's expense. On November 11, 1864, the Greeks refused to observe the custom of removing their sacred paintings from the altar after saying mass in the Grotto of the Nativity. An armed melee involving Greeks and Armenians ensued. In December 1864 a quarrel between the Greeks and Armenians over the sweeping of the cathedral of the Nativity was resolved by the governor's decision to prevent either party from sweeping.⁸⁸

The Latin ambition to gain sole possession of the Grotto of the Nativity went unabated. It is alleged that, on the night of April 25, 1869, the Latins set fire to the curtain which covered the Grotto's ceiling and destroyed Armenian and Greek lanterns and paintings in the sanctuary. The Latins, encouraged by the French consul of Jerusalem, sought unsuccessfully to prevent the two communities from replacing these. On May 8 several paintings belonging to the Greeks and Armenians were stolen from the Grotto. And in the following year the Latins infringed upon the Armenian sweeping privileges in the Grotto.⁸⁹

In 1870 the Armenian patriarch, Esayi, took some measures of reprisal against the Franciscan monks. For over two centuries the patriarchate had permitted them to celebrate mass in the cathedral of St. James on the occasion of the feast of St. James and in the monastery of the Holy Saviour on Mount Zion on Pentecost. The patriarch now denied them the customary permission, and in a letter to the governor made it known that the measure was taken on religious grounds and in compliance with

a directive from the catholicos of Etchmiadzin. To those who later sought to mediate the controversy the patriarch explained that the decision had stemmed from the Roman church's proclamation of the infallibility of the pope and the references of Franciscan preachers to the Armenian church as heretical. Despite the subsequent interventions of the Porte, the French ambassador at Constantinople, and the French consul of Damascus, all in behalf of the Latins, the patriarch remained firm.⁹⁰

Such controversies among the three major custodians of the Holy Places continued during the remaining period of Ottoman dominion, but the official policy respecting the maintenance of the status quo prevented, in the main, the aggrandizement of any one rite at the expense of the others. What privileges and possessions each community had at the conclusion of the Crimean War they continued to enjoy up to the fall of the empire and during the British mandatory administration in Palestine.

These possessions and privileges are catalogued in the memorandum by L. G. A. Cust, onetime British district officer of Jerusalem, entitled "The Status Quo in the Holy Places," which was designed to serve as a guide for British mandate authorities concerned with the adjudication of disputes among the contending communities.⁹¹ According to this account the three major communities had sole possession of the church of the Holy Sepulcher, except for a small chapel owned by the Copts. Only the three patriarchates had the right to enter the church in sacerdotal procession. The entrance doorway and the façade were common property. The entrance courtyard was in common use, but the Greeks alone had the right to clean it. The chapels and monasteries surrounding the courtyard belonged to the different rites; the Armenians owned the chapel of St. John the Baptist, on the east. Just within the entrance, the Stone of Unction, commemorating the spot where Christ's body was anointed before entombment, was common property. The Calvary chapel was shared by the Greeks and Latins; the Greeks possessed the northern portion known as the chapel of the Exaltation of the Cross, and the Franciscans the southern, the chapel of the Crucifixion. The Gallery on the south side above the Rotunda, with the church of St. John the Almoner known as the Second Golgotha, was Armenian property. The dome of the Katholikon and the floor of the Rotunda within the circle of pillars were the common prop-

erty of the three rites, but the small rooms and columns around the Rotunda were occupied by individual communities. The great Katholikon or Chorus Dominorum was Orthodox property. The Edicule, the sanctuary of the Holy Sepulcher, was common to the three patriarchates who alone could officiate regularly within it, the Orthodox enjoying the privilege of saying the Liturgy at night in advance of the Latins and Armenians. The ceremony of the "Holy Fire" – symbolizing and commemorating the triumph of the Christian faith after Calvary – which takes place at midday on Easter Eve in the Edicule, was conducted by the Greek patriarch, with the participation of a ranking clergyman of the Armenian patriarchate.⁹² Within the cathedral there were many commemorative shrines and chapels belonging to individual rites. Of these, the Station of the Holy Women (marking the spot where the women waited and beheld the Crucifixion and where the Virgin Mary stood while the body of Christ was being anointed for burial), the chapel of the Parting of the Raiment, the chapel of St. Helena (referred to by the Armenians as the chapel of St. Gregory the Illuminator), and several other shrines were under the exclusive jurisdiction of the Armenians. Although the Latins claimed sole possession of the Grotto of the Invention of the Cross, the Greeks claimed certain rights over it and the Armenians and Jacobite Syrians held services there on the feast of the Invention. In conclusion, the three patriarchates alone were each represented by a superior and clergy permanently resident within the precincts of the cathedral.

The underground church of St. Mary at Gethsemane was under the joint control of the Greeks and Armenians alone, with their rights and exclusive possessions specifically defined. Common to both were the courtyard, the entrance, the nave, and the Tomb of the Holy Virgin. Daily mass was celebrated by the two churches on the altar of the Tomb; and, by fiat of the Armenian patriarchate, the Copts twice and the Syrians once a week held services there on Armenian altars. Under Armenian jurisdiction were the chapels of St. Joseph and the Presentation and the altar of St. Bartholomew. Adjacent to the church the Armenians owned a large tract of land known as the Garden of Gethsemane.

The situation as regards the sanctuary of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives was peculiar in that for a long time its keys had been in Muslim hands; hence, its ownership was in doubt. The

major rites as well as the Copts and Syrians conducted services there on the festivals of the Ascension.

The church of the Nativity at Bethlehem was commonly owned, but the Greek Orthodox enjoyed by far the most privileged position.⁹³ The Greeks had sole possession of the Katholikon, the nave, and the church of St. Nicholas in the south transept. The Armenians had exclusive jurisdiction over the north transept. Possession of the sanctuary's second door, bearing Arabic and Armenian inscriptions dating to 1227, was contested between the Greeks and Armenians and hence was never locked. In the main church the privileges of the Latins were limited to the sole possession of the altar of the Manger in the Grotto of the Nativity, situated under the Katholikon. The second part of the Grotto, the altar of the Nativity, belonged jointly to the Greeks and Armenians. The southern door of the Grotto was used exclusively by the Orthodox; the northern entrance, principally by the Latins and Armenians. Adjacent to the church of the Nativity the three rites had their own monasteries, with churches, accommodating the monks who conducted daily services in the sanctuary as well as pilgrims.

It is worthy of note that the above-described status quo in the Holy Places still governs the relations of the principal custodians.

CONCLUSIONS

As Cust rightly said:

The history of the Holy Places is one long story of bitter animosities and contentions, in which outside influences take part in an increasing degree, until the scenes of Our Lord's life on earth become a political shuttlecock, and eventually the cause of international conflict. If the Holy Places and the rights pertaining thereto are an "expression of man's feelings about Him whose story hallowed these sites," they are also an index of the corruptions and intrigues of despots and chancellories during eight hundred years. The logical results have been the spirit of distrust and suspicion, and the attitude of intractability in all matters, even if only of the most trivial importance, concerning the Holy Places.⁹⁴

In the earliest centuries monks belonging to many different ethnic and religious groups occupied an important position in the sanctuaries of the Holy City. In the course of time several of

these communities waxed or waned in influence or even (as in the case of the Georgians and Serbians) lost all representation in the Holy Land. By the time of the Ottoman conquest of the Holy Land the Greeks, Latins, and Armenians had emerged as the principal custodians, with the monophysite Copts, Syrians, and Abyssinians possessing minor privileges in the sites owned exclusively by the Armenians.

During the four centuries of Ottoman dominion the rivalry and interminable struggles among the major guardians for aggrandizement at the expense of each other were marked by an almost fanatical zeal and frequently were attended by violence. The community disputes invariably involved the local and central authorities, who were called upon to adjudicate between contending Christians. The role which the Ottomans played in these cases was sometimes motivated by considerations of justice, law, and order. More often than not, however, the Ottomans played one community against the other. Quite frequently they were influenced by factors extraneous to the merit of the issues, chiefly the possibility of financial gain and the requirements of international diplomacy.

The status quo in the Holy Places as enunciated in the 1850's and as reconfirmed time and again in subsequent years was the sum of a historical evolution whose beginnings are traceable to the early centuries of Christianity, and as a result it established a most complicated network of rights and privileges. This was made more problematical by the difficulty of defining and regulating possessory rights, the doubtful validity of earlier contradictory edicts,⁹⁵ and the mutual distrust, suspicion, and jealousy of the rival communities. Yet the Ottoman government was able to maintain the status quo, and no appreciable change in the holdings and privileges of the major custodians occurred after 1850.

From the standpoint of political protection and material resources, the Armenian community was considerably weaker than the much more powerful Latin and Greek rites. As head of the monastic congregation of St. James and as chief custodian, the primary function of the Armenian patriarch of Jerusalem was to safeguard not only the private institutions of his relatively small community but also its age-old privileges in the commonly held sanctuaries. In this most difficult task the patriarch relied upon

the moral and material support of the local monastics and secular community, the other hierarchical sees of the Armenian church, pilgrims, and the Armenian people as a whole. The local monastics had to be especially vigilant. The safeguarding of their status in the Holy Places and other interests necessitated the prompt and unfailing performance of religious services, especially in the commonly held sanctuaries, at precisely designated places and times, for any laxity would certainly result in losses by default to the rival parties. The Armenian tenacity in the Holy Land is impressive testimony to the national resolve of the Armenian people.

CHAPTER VIII

Administration of the Patriarchate's Religious Endowments

THE UNIQUE POSITION of the patriarchate of Jerusalem among the sees of the Armenian church placed very high demands upon its financial and material resources. Preservation of the patriarchal see and its monastic communities and ecclesiastical institutions in the Holy Land, and most important protection of the Armenian privileges and possessions in the Holy Places, were very costly, and especially under Ottoman dominion it became proverbial among the Armenians to equate the institution with fiscal insolvency. The order of St. James had no other recourse than to rely constantly upon the munificence of the Armenian people as a whole. Time and again the communities in the Armenian Diaspora gave ample evidence of their genuine concern for the historic institution by their generous support.

REVENUE AND EXPENDITURES

The contributions derived from the annual pilgrimage of Armenians to the Holy Land from near and distant countries constituted the patriarchate's single most important source of revenue. It had in effect become an article of faith that every Armenian believer should, at least once in his lifetime, attempt to perform the sacred duty of visiting the dominical sanctuaries, and of atoning there for his sins. Furthermore, it was generally believed that if the pilgrim happened to die in the Holy City itself he would be assured of inheriting eternal life. Concomitant with this was the tradition that each pilgrim should, as a sacred obligation, make a contribution to the see in accordance with

his means; and therefore numerous were those who labored long and hard to save enough of their earnings to meet the expenses of a harrowing journey and to provide for pious donations. In addition to money many arrived in the Holy City with precious ecclesiastical vessels, ornaments, and vestments which they donated to the patriarchate in memory of beloved relatives or to commend their souls to the Almighty. Many among the more well-to-do pilgrims offered substantial sums of money for specific needs of the institution, for alleviating its financial obligations to creditors, or for endowing the patriarchate with revenue-yielding property. It is clear that the institution's ability to meet its expenses depended largely upon the regularity of the annual pilgrimage. Any cessation or reduction in the flow of pilgrims — a contingency which recurred time and again in consequence of political upheavals and economic recessions — was bound to produce the most adverse effects upon the see's solvency.

The second major source of revenue was the institutionalized system of the nunciatures (*nuirakut'iunk'*), that is, the periodic visitation to the various communities of the Armenian Diaspora by duly authorized monastics of the see of Jerusalem. The purpose of these missions was twofold: to maintain constant contact with these communities by bringing to them the blessings of the Holy Land; and to solicit contributions. Nuncios were sent to all the communities in the Ottoman empire and to the Far East, Persia, the Caucasus, Georgia, the Crimea, and the Balkans. They generally enjoyed the cooperation not only of the local Armenian bishoprics, but also of the political authorities.

As a direct result of these missions the patriarchate of Jerusalem became the beneficiary of a substantial number of large bequests made by wealthy Armenian laymen and by ecclesiastics. Some of these were made directly and solely to Jerusalem and some were willed jointly to a number of hierarchical sees including St. James. In certain instances, the bequest stipulated that property should be purchased or buildings constructed in the Holy City, the revenue from which should be used for the needs of the institution. A considerable amount of real estate outside the Holy Land also was bequeathed to the see; these were administered by local clergy under the jurisdiction of Jerusalem or by agents appointed by the see. Quite frequently the nuncios were also charged with the task of supervising the management of these

properties and the collecting of the revenues from the local agents.

In cases of grave financial crises the patriarchate, in cooperation with the central authorities at Constantinople, resorted to national solicitation campaigns. Some of these were confined to the capital, but others encompassed not only the entire millet in the empire but even beyond. These were usually organized by the central authorities, assisted by local bishoprics and the nuncios of Jerusalem. Sometimes fund-raising drives were initiated by ecclesiastics who had witnessed the economic plight of the institution when on a pilgrimage in the Holy Land. In at least one instance the Armenian authorities at Constantinople succeeded in persuading the Ottoman authorities to collect, in addition to the regular taxes due to the state from the Armenian millet, a special levy for the benefit of the patriarchate of Jerusalem.

The monastics of the patriarchate generally lived in economic austerity. The ranks of the monastic order were usually comprised of devout individuals who came from distant lands to serve in the patriarchate and in the dominical sanctuaries without remuneration; in compensation the institution, which was run communally, met all their personal needs. Very infrequently were these arrivals endowed with personal means. Nevertheless, thanks to private gifts from pilgrims and other sources, and in consequence of the austere life they led, many were able to accumulate small assets and to invest in real property. Traditionally, the see was the beneficiary of such assets and property as well as of personal possessions.

When special circumstances prevented assistance from the central authorities at Constantinople or the other hierarchies and when the flow of pilgrims had stopped, the institution had no other recourse than to negotiate loans by mortgaging its properties or other assets to obtain needed cash. And frequently it was compelled to sell valuable gold and silver sacred objects in order to pay off the creditors.¹

As for the patriarchate's expenditures, its first and most immediate responsibility was to meet the personal needs of monastic communities, and in certain cases those of the small civilian Armenian populations, in the territories under its direct administrative jurisdiction. Its clerical representatives at Constanti-

nople, Bethlehem, and Jaffa generally assumed, in behalf of the see, responsibility for the small local monastic congregations by means of local resources. The representatives at Ramle, Beirut, Damascus, and Latakia in the main received funds for the needs of their congregations either from the treasury of the patriarchate or from the proceeds of its properties in these localities.² The second, and by far the largest, outlay of expenditures involved the maintenance of the see's monasteries, churches, and other properties within and outside the Holy Land, and more importantly the protection of its rights and privileges in the Holy Places.

THE IMPACT OF THE OTTOMAN ADMINISTRATION
ON THE ECONOMIC STATUS OF THE PATRIARCHATE

Not least among the expenses of the patriarchate were the taxes imposed by the Ottoman administration.³ To begin with, the patriarch of Jerusalem paid a fixed tax, the *mukataa*, directly to the Ottoman sultan. In addition each newly elected patriarch paid a *jaize* (fee, gratuity) for the imperial *firman* or *berat*, the formal ratification of his election, as well as large gifts to the officers and servants of the sultan. The first recorded instance of this tradition occurred in 1645, when the electee, Bishop Astuatsatur Taronets'i, paid the "customary" fee of 8000 *akçe* to the imperial treasury to obtain his official *berat*.⁴ It seems logical to assume that the practice antedated this period, and was probably as old as the Ottoman occupation of Jerusalem. Each time a new sultan ascended the imperial throne the patriarchate was compelled to have the *firmans* which guaranteed its private possessions and sanctuaries in the Holy Land renewed or revalidated. This renewal cost the customary fees to the imperial treasury as well as gifts and bribes to the high-ranking officials of the palace and the Porte.

By far the largest outlay in fees and bribes, however, involved the protection of Armenian privileges and possessions in the Holy Places. Extended litigations in the capital, bribery of officials at all levels, and the enforcement of imperial edicts drained the financial resources of the patriarchate.

The construction of ecclesiastical edifices and facilities as well as the restoration of existing structures could be effected only

after the Porte's official approval of the detailed plans. The permit had then to be confirmed by the governor of Damascus and registered in the court at Jerusalem. All three stages involved a great deal in fees and even more in bribes. The construction or restorations were most closely watched by local officials to ascertain that nothing was done beyond the specific terms of the permit, such as the time allotted for the job, the building's location or size — yet one more opportunity for extortions. Sometimes other Christian communities incited the local officials in this regard, thus compelling the Armenian institution to have the issue litigated in court, resulting in additional expenses. As an illustration of what these practices involved: In 1727 it cost the patriarchate 16,633 piasters to replaster the cathedral of St. James. Of this amount only 4827 piasters was spent for materials and labor; the rest represented the fee for the imperial permit and gifts to officials at Jerusalem.⁵

The patriarchate also paid taxes to the governor of Damascus, the sultan's principal tax farmer in the vilayet of southern Syria, which included a substantial portion of eastern Palestine. By law he could not collect anything in excess of the prescribed annual tribute (*mukataa*) from his province; in actual practice, however, the Ottoman system of tax farming⁶ permitted him to exercise great freedom in engaging in large-scale extortion with complete impunity. The tax-exempt status of the imperial domains and of the Muslim religious establishments and their properties limited the governor's sources of revenue. The Christian ecclesiastical institutions of Jerusalem, including their holdings and communities throughout the Holy Land, therefore became a principal source of the governor's tax revenue.

Once every year the governor of Damascus arrived in Jerusalem with a large retinue of subordinates and troops to collect taxes. The treatment of the Christian communities on these annual visitations is best described in a letter which the Armenian patriarch of Jerusalem, Tēodoros Khorenats'i (1752–1761), sent to the national authorities at Constantinople in May 1760.⁷ The patriarch reported that during his last visit the governor had employed every conceivable expedient to pillage the Christian institutions of their resources. "Even if the stones and soil of the Promised Land were turned into gold and silver . . . it would still be impossible" to satiate the greed of the governors. The Greeks,

Latins, and Armenians all feared that they would be compelled to abandon their institutions and flee from Jerusalem. Tēodoros adds that "it is not possible to remain here and print promissory notes . . . we still have not been able to save ourselves from the hands of the creditors, and . . . our revenues are unequal to our expenditures." The governor's annual visits to the various districts were "not for the welfare of the country, but to excoriate the monasteries." The governor had imposed an annual tax of twenty-five purses of gold on the three major rites, which was shared equally by them. He also harassed them to extort monies in addition to this. When departing he left behind at Jerusalem a deputy and some thirty individuals, whose expenses amounting to thirty silver purses were also borne by the three communities.

The governor's deputy and servants imposed a tax of 8½ gold piasters upon each pilgrim, without however guaranteeing his safe journey to and from the port of Jaffa. This responsibility belonged to the chief of customs at Jaffa. For his services the Armenian patriarchate paid an annual sum of 3750 piasters and each of the pilgrims paid 2 to 7 piasters.

Patriarch Tēodoros reports that during his first visit to Jerusalem the governor of Damascus informed the Armenian patriarchate that the Greeks had paid him 1000 gold liras for a permit to restore some of their properties, and he compelled the Armenians to apply for a similar permit and collected from them the same amount. Upon his second visit, these sums were added to the regular taxes of the two communities.

The same letter relates an affair which illustrates the patriarchate's many trials. The villagers of Bethlehem had revolted and the governor's troops were sent to quell them. When the rebels took refuge in the Christian monasteries the governor threatened to destroy these institutions. The Latins and Greeks sought to appease his ire by pledging to pay him 20 purses; because the Armenians refused to do likewise he bombarded the three institutions and besieged them for five days. Finally the governor collected 70 purses of silver from the three communities as a fine for the revolt and threatened to collect 45 purses from the villagers in the event that they revolted again.

In conclusion, Patriarch Tēodoros suggested that the national authorities at Constantinople spare no effort to separate the district of Jerusalem from the authority of the governor; otherwise,

he concluded, it would not be possible for them to remain in Jerusalem.

These circumstances do not represent an isolated instance; rather, they illustrate the situation which recurred year after year. The annual visitation of the governor and his entourage was always dreaded by the Christian communities of Jerusalem.⁸

As the sultan's chief political and administrative representative in the vilayet of Damascus, the governor was also involved with the Christian intercommunity rivalries respecting the Holy Places, and such involvement guaranteed him additional sources of revenue from these institutions in the form of bribes. Whereas the edicts concerning the disposition of disputed sanctuaries were issued by the imperial authorities at Constantinople, their implementation was generally dependent upon the whims of the governor, the qadi of Jerusalem and other local officials. These functionaries normally took advantage of the opportunities thus presented to extort as much money from the contending parties as possible. Likewise, whereas permits for construction or restoration of ecclesiastical edifices and facilities were issued by the Porte, as we have seen the governor of Damascus also frequently exercised this authority in view of its most remunerative character.

The governor's immediate subordinates were also beneficiaries of the system of tax farming. After the annual collection of legal taxes and exaction of extraordinary fines and other impositions, several functionaries remained behind in the Christian monasteries. During their entire stay in Jerusalem their expenses were borne by the patriarchates, and prior to their departure they, too, collected taxes and expensive gifts. Quite frequently, the regional governors of Jaffa, Acre, and Sidon, as well, managed to collect taxes, fines, and other levies from the Christian communities. One of the most common means of extortion practiced by these and the governors of Damascus was the imposition of forced loans. The recipients seldom honored the promissory notes issued.

The local Ottoman officials of Jerusalem also devised ingenious means and pretexts to derive the maximum possible benefits from the communities that were at their mercy. The principal officials of the local administration were the district governor, the mayor, the qadi, and his deputy, the mufti, and the Janissary commander. In addition to these, there was a city council composed of a number of the principal local Muslim effendis and sheikhs. Upon their assumption of office the major functionaries received from each

of the Christian communities what was called the *kudumiye* (arrival tax). On various Christian and Muslim feasts these and the city councilors were customarily given monetary and other gifts. When a new patriarch assumed office, he was expected to offer expensive gifts to the same individuals. In addition to the annual fee of 5000 piasters paid to the local administration by each community for permission to bury its dead, the council also collected five piasters for individual burials. When new administrators assumed local offices the three Christian communities were compelled to have their edicts, writs, and title deeds revalidated in court to insure the integrity of their respective possessions. The qadi, for instance, charged a fee of 5000 piasters to reregister previously authenticated documents. The legal fee for the registration in court of new edicts and other administrative orders was only 100 piasters, but the qadi would invariably refuse to register them until he had collected thousands of piasters as reward or bribe. And, finally, when the qadi's term of office expired, he obtained from each patriarchate the sum of 5000 piasters ostensibly for travel expenses to the port of Jaffa, whence he journeyed to his new assignment.⁹ The aggregate annual cost to each community of all these levies and exactions was clearly a considerable burden.

Subsequent to Sultan Selim I's occupation of the Holy City, certain Muslims were appointed as official gatekeepers of the cathedral of the Holy Sepulcher, with the privilege of collecting admission fees from each pilgrim visiting the sanctuary. Soon afterwards, however, some imperial officials secured this lucrative office by edict. They routinely demanded more than the prescribed rates and also tyrannized the local Christian communities to secure various kinds of gifts and rewards. The practice continued until 1667, when by imperial decree the responsibility for the cathedral's gate was entrusted to the superintendents of the imperial domains at Jerusalem and the custodians of the Mosque of Umar. These officials' principal sources of revenue were the taxes which they imposed on pilgrims and multifarious exactions from the local Christian institutions.¹⁰ The Christians suffered not a little from their constant coercions and harassments. On a number of occasions the sultan and the Porte acceded to protests by issuing official edicts against such malpractices, but these at best could bring only temporary relief.

The native populace also harassed the Armenian patriarchate

of Jerusalem. Among these, the Arabs of Mount Zion, who lived in the immediate vicinity of the Armenian patriarchate, presented the gravest menace, especially to the monastery of the Holy Saviour. Throughout the entire Ottoman dominion these natives laid arbitrary claims to the Armenian possessions and properties. On many occasions, they looted and plundered the monastery, laid to ruins the orchards, desecrated the graves in the cemetery, and molested or murdered monastics. They always sought, sometimes successfully, to prevent reconstruction of what they had destroyed. And they often prevented the institution from burying its dead or violently interrupted funeral services.

The object of all these offensive acts was securing revenues from the patriarchate — which they more often than not achieved. Sometimes violence was committed in collusion with, or was condoned by, certain city officials with whom the proceeds were shared. For arbitrating disputes involving the patriarchate and the natives, for sending reports to the Porte, and for officially registering the resulting edicts in court, these functionaries received enormous amounts from the Armenians. The central Ottoman authorities could do no more than periodically issue official orders which prohibited the natives' conduct on pain of severe reprisal. After a brief respite the same acts recurred time and again at considerable annoyance and cost to the Armenian community.¹¹

Equally irksome and costly was the lawlessness of the Muslim villagers in the immediate vicinity of Jerusalem.¹² Among these villages, Abu-Ghush, the closest to Jerusalem on the west, occupied a special position in that it was the last inhabited region on the pilgrim route from Jaffa. From the moment of their arrival in the Holy Land the pilgrims came under the direct responsibility of the patriarchate, which therefore had the obligation of guaranteeing their safety — a task which was rendered immeasurably difficult in view of the most inadequate system of public security. Not only the duly appointed Ottoman officials throughout the land, but also self-styled tax collectors and village chieftains, employed every coercive means to rob pilgrims by means of the so-called *ghafar* (protection) tax. This tax was also collected at Abu-Ghush until the Greek and Armenian patriarchates secured its abrogation. In compensation the two institutions began to pay the village chieftain twice a year, that is, on the arrival

and departure of the pilgrims, a total sum of 7000 piasters to guarantee the safe passage of their pilgrims through his village.¹³ Nevertheless, the temptation to resort to the old practice was ever present. Not unlike other villagers, those of Abu-Ghush missed no opportunity to victimize the Christians, especially in forcing them to assume village obligations to the various Ottoman officials.¹⁴

The Christians in Bethlehem also suffered from the extortionary practices and violence of the native Arab population. As elsewhere the natives collected a protection tax from pilgrims, the rates generally determined by the whims of the collectors.¹⁵ An agreement arrived at in 1720 between the Greek, Latin, and Armenian hierarchs of Jerusalem and the sheikhs of Bethlehem provides a very clear picture of the situation. The first of its seven articles stipulated that each Christmas the local notables would receive a total sum of 1800 piasters from the three Christian communities, in return for a guarantee that the villagers would not molest the monastics for additional funds or confiscate the supplies which these institutions received from Jerusalem. The second prohibited any local tax collector from quibbling with the superintendents of the monasteries over tax rates. The offender would be liable to a fine of 200 piasters. The third stated that the villagers would not renew old court actions, and that in the event that the beasts of burden which the villagers had rented to the monasteries suffered harm no damages would be demanded. The fourth stipulated that the villagers would refrain from the forcible sale of goods to the monasteries. The fifth stipulated that in the event the Ottoman government imposed fines on the sheikhs or villagers such charges would not be exacted from the Christian monasteries; or if certain villagers were banished or held in custody the ransom for their freedom would not be inflicted upon the same institutions. The sixth provided that no one would molest monastics or pilgrims or destroy the walls of the monasteries, their orchards, and other properties. And, finally, the seventh article abolished the protection tax and prohibited such harassments as the forcible demanding of food and other goods.¹⁶ The village notables pledged to honor the terms of the agreement and the qadi of Jerusalem concurred in them. The coercions and harassments and the periodic acts of violence persisted with little interruption, however, for the Ottoman admin-

istrative system was conducive to lawlessness and mismanagement.¹⁷

The occasional prosperity of the Armenian patriarchate of Jerusalem, resulting in the main from generous donations of pilgrims, was frequently instrumental in bringing about the virtual ruination of the institution. Such a period of affluence marked the last quarter of the sixteenth century; it had the effect not only of arousing the jealousies of the rival Christian communities, but also of intensifying the greed of local Ottoman officials. To meet ever increasing demands Patriarch Dawit' was compelled to negotiate large loans from local bankers and merchants. To obtain these loans, he mortgaged not only the institution's properties but also valuable ecclesiastical objects donated by pilgrims and monks. These transactions reached such proportions that creditors were no longer willing to risk their money. Moreover at this time pilgrims had ceased to arrive on account of the insecurity of travel occasioned by the revolt of the Jelalis in Asia Minor. Finally Dawit' fled to Urfa in order to escape the growing pressures of the local officials and creditors.¹⁸

On a visit to Jerusalem in 1600 the Cilician Catholicos Azaria witnessed the patriarchate's utter destitution. Returning to his seat he convened a meeting of high-ranking Armenian clergy at Amit to seek a practical means for rectifying the situation. Under his general supervision a national solicitation campaign was conducted, and through the generous contributions of Armenian communities a large amount of gold and silver was secured. In addition multitudes of pilgrims were encouraged to journey to the Holy Land to perform their pious duties and to make contributions to the see of Jerusalem. With the proceeds of the solicitation effort Patriarch Dawit' was able to pay a large proportion of the institution's debts and recover its mortgaged properties and precious artifacts.¹⁹

However, the chronic avarice of city officials and the incessant harassments of the native population soon impelled the patriarch to negotiate new loans, at high interest rates, and the see's financial predicament precipitated another crisis. The contemporary chronicler Grigor Daranaghts'i relates that the abbot-general of the Armenian monastery of Varag at Bitlis, the vardapet Barsegh, arrived in Jerusalem on a pilgrimage in 1608, and after sojourning there for a year returned to his native country determined to seek every possible means to ameliorate the patriarchate's plight.

At Van he enlisted the cooperation of Bishop Martiros. The two ecclesiastics toured the regions of Van and Bitlis and raised a substantial sum of money from the Armenian communicants. A single notable at Bitlis, Khocha Karapet, donated "seven loads of silver." Further solicitations were made at Amit, Urfa, and Aleppo. Together with a large group of pilgrims, who joined them in various towns, the two ecclesiastics arrived in Jerusalem with the proceeds of their efforts, bringing relief to the despondent Armenian clergymen and laymen as well as to the Syrians, Copts, and Abyssinians. The chronicler asserts that all the creditors were repaid, representing an aggregate of 48,000 piasters, and a sufficient amount remained to enable the patriarchate to restore several churches and monasteries and to buy precious ecclesiastical artifacts.²⁰

The periodic political and military upheavals in Palestine and in the neighboring territories also frequently produced the most serious consequences for the Christians of the Holy Land. Among these, mention might be made of the joint military venture of Ali Bey of Egypt and Shaykh Zahir al-Umar of Acre during the years 1772-1773. Their occupation of Gaza, Ramle, Lydda, and Jaffa caused a serious famine in Jerusalem, in consequence of which many died of hunger, while a large number of Christians and Jews left the city. Likewise, in 1775 Mehmet Bey of Egypt besieged Jaffa for forty-nine days. The attackers and the defenders of the city, both Maghribi troops, united to ransack and loot the inhabitants. Despite the fact that the local Armenian monastery paid a fine of 200 purses to escape reprisals, many of the monks and laymen, including pilgrims, suffered from the brutality of these troops. Some days later a score of Armenians were killed on the outskirts of Jaffa, and a number of children were held captive. When on May 16, 1775, the Armenian pilgrims arrived in Jerusalem they had been looted of their last piaster; hence, the patriarchate itself, which relied on their contributions, was compelled to assume responsibility for their care despite its financial disability.²¹

THE SEE'S FINANCIAL CRISES, 1798-1918

By far the most important military upheaval was Napoleon's invasion of Egypt in the summer of 1798. A large mob of Muslims, who arrived in Jerusalem ostensibly to defend the city

against the impending French attack, set upon the defenseless Christian communities whom they regarded as accomplices and sympathizers of the Christian invaders. Armed men were stationed in the Latin, Greek, and Armenian monasteries. A large group camped in the spacious garden across from the Armenian monastery of St. James, and the patriarchate was coerced into providing their supplies. Sometime later these men not only plundered the Christian monasteries, but also locked up a large number of monks in the cathedral of the Holy Sepulcher, where they were detained for 170 days. In the meantime the Muslims demanded from the three communities fifteen purses of money for gunpowder and ammunition, and Ahmet Jezzar Pasha obtained from them promissory notes amounting to 150 purses. Natives prevented the Christians from burying their dead in the cemeteries on Mount Zion without payment of exorbitant sums of money; and some pilgrims were locked up in monasteries as prisoners. Upon the Christian communities' pleas Jezzar Pasha sent strict instructions to the city officials of Jerusalem, on September 9, 1798, to restrain the acts of violence. This intercession proved to be quite costly, for in July of the following year the Armenian patriarchate was coerced into paying him more than 60,000 piasters.²²

Subsequent to Napoleon's occupation of Gaza, Ramle, Lydda, and Jaffa, his troops plundered the Armenian monastery of St. Nikoghayos, which was converted into a hospital for wounded French soldiers. Nevertheless in February 1799 the Muslims of Jerusalem locked up some two thousand Christian pilgrims and monks in the cathedral of the Holy Sepulcher as sympathizers of their French coreligionists. Thanks to the British navy's timely assistance to Jezzar Pasha, Napoleon's attempt to occupy Acre resulted in an ignominious defeat. During their retreat to Egypt, the French troops committed further acts of violence at Jaffa. Besides destroying a number of Armenian dwellings and warehouses they collected a fine of 100 purses of silver.²³

The retreating French army was pursued by an Ottoman force commanded by the Grand Vizier Kör Yusuf Pasha. The grand vizier was in dire financial straits and unable to pay his troops. He therefore demanded a loan of 2000 purses of silver from the Armenian and Greek patriarchates, despite the fact that their resources had been drained on account of the recent developments. Through the good offices of the Armenian Anton Amira,

the pasha's personal banker, the grand vizier was persuaded to reduce his demand to 1000 purses. In view of the total lack of cash funds, the Armenian patriarchate was forced to raise the necessary money by making loans at high interest rates, melting some of its gold and silver ecclesiastical artifacts, and appealing to the women of the community to donate their jewelry.²⁴

The grand vizier's departure left the governor of Jerusalem, Abu Merak, as virtual tyrant. His coercive extortionary measures against Christian institutions and Muslim notables became so unbearable that the Porte eventually reassigned the district to Jezzar Pasha of Acre. As Abu Merak was unwilling to surrender the office, the pasha besieged Jaffa, whence he had fled. On February 2, 1803, Abu Merak succeeded in escaping. So emboldened was the pasha that he led an insurrection against the Porte and successfully drove out the newly appointed governor of Damascus, Abdullah Pasha. In the governor's place he began to collect taxes from the Christian communities of Jerusalem, including 220 purses of silver from the Armenian patriarchate.²⁵

In November of the following year Abu Merak returned to Jaffa, causing not a little concern to the Christian and Muslim populations alike. His erstwhile friend Grand Vizier Kör Yusuf Pasha had entrusted him with the mission of suppressing the Wahhabi revolt in Arabia. The ostensible purpose of the visit to Jaffa was to recover his personal belongings which he had left behind during his flight at the time of Jezzar Pasha's siege of the city. Soon after his arrival, however, he forcibly obtained 900 purses from the Armenian and Greek patriarchates in promissory notes payable at Constantinople. He also blocked the routes to Jaffa and refused to allow the passage of a group of pilgrims unless his demands for money were met. At long last, the strong protestations of the Christian communities induced the Porte to dispatch a special commissioner with orders to punish the tyrant by death; but Abu Merak, after looting the newly arrived Armenian pilgrims, fled to Damascus on November 21, 1805.²⁶

Abu Merak's flight did not result in any relief for the Christian communities. Soon afterwards the governor of Damascus, Abdullah Pasha, arrived in Jerusalem to collect the annual tribute. As in the past, when the governor imposed a fine of 1000 purses of silver upon some villagers, the villagers attacked the Greeks and Armenians and compelled them to pay the amount. So in-

tolerable had the situation become that the Christian community leaders sent special delegates to the capital to urge the separation of the district of Jerusalem from the vilayet of Damascus.²⁷ These efforts, like their attempts to have abolished by imperial edict the new unlawful taxes imposed by the governor, failed completely.²⁸

By the end of the first decade of the nineteenth century the financial status of the Armenian patriarchate was extremely shaky in consequence of Napoleon's invasion of the Holy Land, the subsequent political upheavals, and the illicit exactions of Ottoman officials. The Greco-Armenian controversy respecting the Holy Places following in the wake of the fire in the cathedral of the Holy Sepulcher in 1808, the subsequent extended litigation at Constantinople, and the efforts toward enforcement of the court decisions and the imperial edict added to this burden. Specifically, the patriarchate had incurred a liability amounting to some 3000 purses. Since the see was completely incapable of meeting the demands of local creditors, especially their exorbitant rates of interest, it was hoped that the national leaders at Constantinople, notably the oligarchic class, would assume these debts. So large was the indebtedness, however, that the national leaders were most doubtful that the necessary funds could be raised through special levies on, or general solicitations from, the Armenian millet.

The election of Bishop Pōghos Grigorian, a member of the monastic order of St. James, as patriarch of Constantinople in January 1816 seemed to inspire new hope. As his immediate objective he devoted his entire attention to the amelioration of the see's financial plight, as well as to the removal of its basic causes. In consultation with the Armenian national council he made a personal appeal to Sultan Mahmut II, at whose orders a thorough search was made in the imperial chanceries to determine the rates of the taxes which the governor of Damascus was legally entitled to collect from the institutions and inhabitants within his vilayet. On the basis of these investigations the sultan issued an edict in 1817 which abolished all the illegal and extraordinary taxes exacted by the governor and fixed the annual tribute or *mukataa* from the Armenian patriarchate of Jerusalem to 80 purses, or 40,000 piasters. With a view to discouraging the governor from imposing additional taxes, the sultan increased the

salary which he received from the imperial treasury, and forbade him and his subordinates from obtaining forcible loans.²⁹ Besides the expensive gifts and goods which the governor received from the Armenian institution and the extraordinary "fines" and other monetary demands, the illegal annual taxes which he collected included the so-called *ubudiye*, *avait* or *aidat*, *sanjakiye*, *ikramiye*, and several others, all of which had never been sanctioned by imperial authority. They now were officially banned.

Nevertheless the patriarchate's debts continued to mount, primarily on account of accruing interests on loans and the persistence of extortionary practices, under various pretexts and duress, of the successive governors of Damascus, the governors of Sidon, Acre, Jaffa, and Nazareth, and the local officials at Jerusalem. In response to the repeated appeals from the desperate monastics,³⁰ the Armenian national council at Constantinople considered the problem. They decided that the see of Jerusalem itself should assume direct responsibility for its liabilities. Cognizant of the fact that the monastics would object to their plan, they obtained an edict from the Porte to remove Patriarch Gabriël from Jerusalem, on the grounds that he had been largely responsible for the mismanagement of the see's fiscal affairs. The delicate task of enforcing the decision was entrusted to Bishop Pōghos, then acting as the representative of the see of Jerusalem in the capital.

This most dedicated and highly experienced servant of the see arrived in Jerusalem in November 1824 in the capacity of "supreme administrator" (*Tsayragoun Karhavarich'*), with powers to enforce any measures that he deemed necessary for the rectification of the patriarchate's fiscal and administrative maladies. After a month's study of the local situation he left for Constantinople to consult with the national leaders; en route he stopped off in Egypt to secure the financial assistance of the local Armenian community.

The simultaneous departures of Patriarch Gabriël and Bishop Pōghos incited the local Ottoman officials and creditors to resume coercion of the monastics — the officials to extort money through various means, and the creditors to recover with accrued interest what they had lent the patriarchate.

According to the testimony of American missionaries, on March 31, 1825, "the pasha of Damascus sat down before the city, with

three thousand soldiers, to collect his annual tribute. The amount to be paid by each community was determined solely by his own caprice, and what he [*sic*, they?] could not be induced to remit was extorted by arrest, imprisonment, and the bastinado. Many of the inhabitants fled, and the rest lived in constant fear and distress."³¹ On the pretext that they had given shelter to some rebellious villagers in Bethlehem, the pasha collected a total fine of 205,000 piasters from the Greek, Latin, and Jewish communities. In addition to the legally prescribed annual tribute of 40,000 piasters, the governor and his subordinates coerced the Armenians, notably by imprisonment and torture of a number of the monastics, into paying the abolished illegal taxes of the *ubudiye*, *avait*, and *ikramiye* amounting to a total sum of 128,000 piasters — all ostensibly in view of the large expenditures for troops. Since they could no longer negotiate loans from their creditors, the destitute institution was constrained to raise this exorbitant amount by selling precious objects.³² Scarcely had the governor and his retinue left Jerusalem than the local officials put forth their customary demands, while the creditors employed every means at their disposal to obtain payment.

The excesses reached such intolerable proportions that in April 1825 the executive council of the patriarchate resorted to what it felt was the only means of escape from further depredation and spoliation. After disbanding the monks to Ramle, Jaffa, and elsewhere in the Holy Land, they stored what was left of the institution's precious ecclesiastical ornaments and vessels in an underground room in the cathedral of St. James. Leaving a few monks behind to guard the treasury and the monastery, four of the principal bishops secretly fled to Hebron, where they took refuge with a local sheikh. They claimed that their objective was to remove themselves to Egypt and remain there until the arrival of financial assistance from the capital; that the monastics could no longer endure the demands of the Ottoman officials and creditors; and that their further stay at Jerusalem was bound to increase the see's already staggering liabilities. In conclusion, they appealed to the patriarchate and the national council at the capital to seek effective means of alleviating the see's financial burdens; to make representations to the Porte to recover what the governors of Damascus and the local officials had forcibly obtained from the see; and to secure another imperial edict guaranteeing

the enforcement of the limitations previously proclaimed regarding taxes.³³

The flight of the bishops shocked and dismayed the city officials. The absence of a responsible leadership in the institution might cut off one of their most important sources of revenue. Little wonder then that they immediately sent troops after the bishops to force their return to Jerusalem. The bishops consented to return with their protector, the sheikh of Hebron, after solemn assurances were given that henceforth the Muslim authorities would curtail their excesses and also check the creditors' violent pressures. However, not only did the irregularities continue, but the monastics themselves, who had also returned to Jerusalem, split into rival factions each blaming the other for their predicament. At the center of this controversy was the patriarchal deputy Bishop Eghia, whose rash deeds and injudicious utterances exacerbated the internal situation and intensified the violence of city officials and creditors. In October 1826 the national authorities at Constantinople had him banished from Jerusalem.³⁴

On his annual visit to Jerusalem in the spring of 1827 the governor of Damascus demanded an additional sum of 180,000 piasters from the three major Christian communities for the "needs of his army." When the Armenians explained their total inability to pay their share, some thirty soldiers were sent to the monastery of St. James to bastinado the monks. Consequently they were forced into paying not only this special exaction but also an additional sum of 130,000 piasters in fines. In view of the total depletion of cash reserves, the institution was compelled to make these payments in promissory notes payable at Constantinople.³⁵

In the meantime Bishop Pōghos had been busy soliciting contributions from the Armenians of the capital and consulting with the national leaders about effective means for alleviating the institution's financial burden. The total indebtedness now exceeded the staggering sum of 6000 purses, or 3,000,000 piasters, a substantial portion of which represented interest on loans. It appeared to the councilors that the only recourse was a direct appeal to the Porte requesting permission to repay the loans without interest in annual installments. The Porte sanctioned the plea in principle and assured them that the necessary edict and the instructions to the appropriate officials would be issued after the receipt of a writ from the qadi of Jerusalem. What appeared to be

a mere formality was unnecessarily protracted, however, primarily because the qadi demanded 100,000 piasters for the issuance of the writ. Not before the authorities of the patriarchate had made a payment of 33,000 piasters to the governor and his principal subordinates and at least 42,000 piasters to the qadi and other local Muslim notables, in addition to expensive gifts, was the document eventually secured.³⁶ The Porte then issued an edict, in January 1828, permitting the see of Jerusalem to repay its creditors in eight annual installments.

This respite was, indeed, welcome relief; but there still remained the problem of raising the annual installment, which amounted to 750 purses. With the most active cooperation of Bishop Pōghos, the patriarchate and the national council in the capital sought to achieve this end through a national solicitation campaign. Each Armenian in the Ottoman empire was asked for an annual voluntary contribution. The drive was only a qualified success, but the increasingly large number of pilgrims arriving in the Holy Land gave ample evidence of their generosity. Thanks to these efforts the see's debts were repaid not in eight but in four years — a remarkable achievement to be credited primarily to the single-minded dedication of Bishop Pōghos.³⁷

Through the efforts of the same ecclesiastic, imperial edicts were secured in 1828–29 reaffirming the abolition of the illicit exactions of the governor of Damascus and his principal lieutenants and the local Ottoman officials. Yet, as in the past this injunction brought only temporary relief.³⁸ The American missionary Eli Smith testifies that the annual tribute paid by the patriarchate of Jerusalem to the governor of Damascus was gradually increased from the revised rate of 40,000 to the enormous sum of 800,000 piasters a year. He further asserts that an imperial edict was secured to reduce the tribute to the original sum, at a cost of \$24,300, “nearly the whole of which . . . was expended in presents to the officers and servants about the Sultan,” but, “through the management of the Damascus authorities, it was found to be entirely useless.”³⁹ The Ottoman officials in Jerusalem also refused to abide by the sultan's injunctions respecting their own illicit practices. This situation persisted, without any appreciable change, until the termination of the Ottoman domination in the Holy Land in 1918.

As we have seen, the financial crises of the patriarchate were not always exclusively the product of the corruption of Ottoman officials, though without a doubt this was by far the most significant factor. Throughout its long and turbulent history, the financial administration of the institution was never conducive to the application of budgetary management, because neither its revenues nor its expenditures could be predicted with any degree of accuracy. The enormous and multifarious demands upon its resources even prevented it from meeting the minimal needs of the order's monastics. The Armenian share of the Holy Places as well as the privately owned ecclesiastical establishments throughout the Holy Land had to be safeguarded at all cost, even by deficit spending, if the institution were to carry out this most important aspect of its functions. More often than not, therefore, the see was constrained to expend considerably more than what its actual revenues warranted, and in the main the discrepancy had to be, and in fact was, met by the Armenian millet at large, which generally recognized its moral and financial obligations toward the see.

Yet the almost constant drain on its resources never ceased to be a matter of grave concern to the leaders of the millet. Time and again they sought, with little success, to remedy the situation by attempting to remove the basic causes of the problem, in particular the illicit taxes and other exactions. At the same time, these leaders began to entertain some doubts as to the ability of the Jerusalem monastics to manage their affairs, especially their finances. In consequence, even under the oligarchic rule of the amiras, they began to interest themselves in the institution's fiscal administration. This tendency became more pronounced beginning in 1846, primarily because circumstances generally impelled the national authorities to assume a major role in the alleviation of the see's financial crises.

While recognizing the authority of the national administration over the Armenian institutions throughout the empire, the monastic order of Jerusalem always remained jealous of its historic independence as a distinct hierarchy of the Armenian church and the sovereign powers which it had enjoyed over its own administrative and fiscal affairs, regardless of its heavy reliance upon the millet as a whole. This conflict was at the root of the frequently

exacerbated relations between the two institutions, particularly under the National Constitution. The constitutionalist forces at Constantinople never deviated from their objective of bringing the see of Jerusalem under the more direct and stricter control of the national authorities. This tendency is best exemplified in their efforts to incorporate into the various regulations of the patriarchate of Jerusalem provisions which restricted the see's powers regarding negotiation of loans and the sale and purchase of real properties, as well as in their insistence upon periodic financial reports to the center. The refusal of the monastic order to accede to these limitations on its authority proved to be one of the principal factors which adversely affected the institution's financial administration. This is attested to by Patriarch Esayi's ostensibly progressive but economically unwise projects which resulted in the negotiation of large loans; and, more importantly, by the administrative mismanagement which culminated in Ghewond Mak'sutian's large-scale embezzlements.

In summing up the present discussion several conclusions seem to be inescapable. The frequent economic insolvency of the patriarchate stemmed largely from external rather than internal factors, primarily from the financial policy of the Ottoman state. At the root of this policy was the system of tax farming, which by its very nature encouraged corruption. Officials, whether on the central, provincial, or local level, aimed principally at deriving, through all the means at their command, the maximum amount of revenues from the institutions and inhabitants under their jurisdiction. Insofar as the Holy Land was concerned, the Christian ecclesiastical institutions constituted, if not the principal, at least one of the most important sources of revenue for these functionaries. They exploited these institutions not only by encouraging their intercommunity rivalries but quite frequently by precipitating crises with a view to securing bribes and gifts. The tax farmers seldom displayed qualms about the use of coercive measures in pursuit of their extortionary objectives, since they could flout even the imperial injunctions with impunity. What encouraged the central and local functionaries to persist in these practices was their conviction that the devout magnates and pilgrims of the Christian communities in the empire, and even beyond, would always continue generous contributions in support of the dominical sanctuaries and religious establishments in the

Holy Land. Indeed, these Christian institutions expended enormous sums of money merely to guarantee their privileges and possessions, which they virtually purchased time and again from avaricious officials. It is remarkable that in spite of the prevailing political maladministration and widespread corruption these institutions were ever able to survive.

CHAPTER IX

The Catholicosate of Cilicia

THE EVOLUTION OF THE REGIONAL CATHOLICOSATE

THE PEREGRINATIONS of the Armenian pontificate, resulting in the main from the exigencies of political circumstances, brought it in 1293 to Sis, the capital of the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia. As we have seen, the catholicosal institution soon became an important instrument of the state's foreign policy, especially under the Frankish dynasty of the Lusignans, who, desirous of securing the papacy's political and material aid against their Muslim adversaries, employed every means at their disposal to coerce the church authorities into making concessions of dogma and ritual to the Roman church. Following the kingdom's demise at the hands of the Mamelukes of Egypt, many of the inhabitants of Sis as well as of other areas of Cilicia, emigrated to neighboring or distant lands. The catholicosate and its dependent ecclesiastical institutions throughout the land therefore were bereft of their resources, and the catholicosal incumbents even found residence at Sis intolerable.¹

The total degradation of the ecclesiastical institution is evidenced by the fact that the last six of the catholicoses (1377-1432) had secured the pontificate through the assassination of their predecessors or bribery. Their dallying with the representatives of the Roman church, motivated exclusively by political and material considerations, seriously compromised the age-old doctrines, practices, and independence of the Armenian church. There was real danger that, removed from the Armenian homeland and subject to the influence of foreign ecclesiastical and political pressures, the pontificate might completely disintegrate.

The more conservative and traditionalist clergy in historic

Armenia gradually became convinced that it would be advisable to move the pontifical seat. Having obtained the consent of the incumbent Catholicos Grigor IX Musabekian and the approval of the principal metropolitans and secular leaders in historic Armenia, a general synod, composed of numerous bishops, archimandrites, vardapets, and lay princes and dignitaries, assembled at Vagarshapat in May 1441, and unanimously resolved to transfer the pontifical seat from Sis to its original site at Etchmiadzin.² As Musabekian had declined an invitation to move to Etchmiadzin, the synod elected as catholicos the anchorite and most saintly Kirakos of Virap, apparently a compromise choice between various contending candidates. It appears that an agreement had been reached between the ecclesiastical authorities in Armenia and in Cilicia whereby upon Musabekian's death the succession at Sis would come to an end.³ There is no doubt then, that these moves, effected in accordance with the canons and traditions of the Armenian church, met with the approval of the Armenian nation at large, especially as it was hoped that the centuries-long peregrinations of the pontificate would come to an end.⁴ Equally important is the fact that four prelates of Cilicia wholeheartedly supported the synod and its unanimous decision.⁵

The rivalries between the clergy of the Armenian provinces of Siunik' and Vaspurakan, who vied with one another for control of the catholicosal office, very soon disrupted the unity manifested at Vagarshapat. Unable to control the situation, Catholicos Kirakos either was deposed or abdicated voluntarily in 1443; he was succeeded by Grigor X Chalalbekian (1443-1465). This unhappy development and its resultant disorders, and perhaps also local considerations, prompted the Cilicians in 1446, that is, some five years after Musabekian's death, to restore the see of Sis. It has been suggested that the move was also a dramatic demonstration of the Cilicians' protest against the injustice meted out to the revered and saintly Catholicos Kirakos.⁶

The newly elected hierarch of the see of Sis, Karapet Ewdokiats'i, not only had his office of catholicos confirmed by the emir of Cilicia by pledging him an annual tribute of 3000 piasters,⁷ but also immediately journeyed to Cairo, where the sultan recognized him as spiritual leader of the Armenians under the sultan's jurisdiction.⁸ Karapet also appears to have made unsuccessful attempts to abolish the see of Etchmiadzin by unilaterally pro-

claiming his own catholicosate the supreme pontificate of the Armenian church.⁹ Significantly, there is no evidence that the incumbent of Etchmiadzin, Catholicos Grigor X, voiced any protest against the restoration of the see of Cilicia nor did he or the synod of the Armenian church issue any proclamation denouncing Karapet and his unlawful hierarchy. He seems to have deemed it prudent and politic to acquiesce tacitly.¹⁰ Thus was laid the foundation of the regional catholicosate of Cilicia, which has had an uninterrupted existence to the present day.

Ever since its inception, the Cilician hierarchy's juridical and canonical status within the Armenian church has been bitterly contested. It is clear that since her beginnings the Armenian church has always recognized the ecclesiastical institution as a single unit, symbolized by one head in the person of the Supreme Patriarch and Catholicos of *All* Armenians, wherever his seat may have happened to be, in direct line of succession to the apostolic see founded by the apostles Thaddeus and Bartholomew and revived by St. Gregory the Illuminator. It was this see that in 1441 was transferred to Etchmiadzin through legitimate canonical processes, and with the unanimous consent of the nation's ecclesiastical and secular representatives. Equally incontestable is the fact that with Catholicos Musabekian's death the hierarchy of Sis had come to a definite end; hence its restoration in 1446, when the pontificate already had an incumbent at Etchmiadzin, was beyond any doubt uncanonical. In course of time, however, this rival see was legitimized by a *de facto* recognition, not as a hierarchy equal to the supreme pontificate of Etchmiadzin but as one limited in scope and authority to the region of Cilicia and its bishoprics. It was a source of future conflict that, like the hierarchy of Etchmiadzin, the ecclesiastical leader of the Cilician see assumed the title of "catholicos," and enjoyed the privilege of ordaining bishops and consecrating the holy chrism.

Under Ottoman rule, the incumbent of the see of Cilicia occupied an anomalous position. Since 1461 the patriarch of Constantinople had been recognized as the ecclesiastical and civil head of the entire Armenian millet. Early in the sixteenth century Cilicia, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and the Khanate of Erevan, which included Etchmiadzin, came under Ottoman dominion. The Armenian communities in the newly occupied territories gradually came under the administrative jurisdiction of the Constantinopoli-

tan patriarchate. After the Persian reconquest of the Khanate of Erevan the patriarch, with the approval of the Ottoman authorities, acted in the capacity of official deputy of the catholicos of Etchmiadzin in the Ottoman dominions.¹¹

The catholicos of Sis, subordinate to the incumbent of Etchmiadzin, thus came under the patriarch of Constantinople, who was inferior to him in ecclesiastical rank and who did not enjoy the catholicosal prerogatives of ordaining bishops and consecrating the holy chrism. Despite his rank, the Cilician hierarch was regarded by the Ottoman sultan and the Porte only as a high metropolitan. Like other bishops he paid his annual tribute and petitioned for edicts through the patriarch instead of directly. It can readily be seen that this situation would result in serious controversies among the sees of the Armenian church. Little is known about this, however, until the first half of the seventeenth century when the controversy reached an especially critical stage under the reign of the ambitious and aggressive Catholicos Simëon II of Cilicia.

THE SEE FROM ITS INCEPTION TO 1731

After the fall of the kingdom of Cilicia, the mountains and valleys of this region were dominated by Muslim rulers called *derebeys*, who, sometimes collectively but more often individually, constantly harassed and tyrannized the local population, and extorted legal and illegal taxes from the churches and monastic institutions, especially from the catholicosate of Sis. The region's general insecurity and political confusion under these rival overlords was further aggravated by bandits who periodically victimized the population. These conditions prevailed even after the Ottoman conquest of Cilicia in the beginning of the sixteenth century; indeed the *derebeys* were not definitively subdued by Ottoman military force until 1865.¹²

The Armenian ecclesiastical and national institutions during this period were administratively and morally in a state of utter ruin. The majority of the catholicoses were totally unworthy of their rank. The greed of the local overlords encouraged ambitious clergy to usurp the catholicosal office by means of bribery, connivance, and intrigue; the highest bidder normally succeeded in securing the coveted position. The sums of money paid in such

bribes were raised by the ecclesiastics through legitimate and illegitimate means from the Armenian community itself.¹³

The general insecurity of the hierarchical seat at Sis forced many a catholicos incumbent to wander about in search of a more tranquil and safer refuge.¹⁴ They normally found such a refuge in their bishopric of Aleppo, which thus became for all practical purposes the second catholicos seat. The favorable position of Aleppo also encouraged the establishment there of a separate catholicos hierarchy which intermittently during the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries posed as a rival to that at Sis. Apart from the instability of the catholicosate, the two principal reasons for this development were the personal ambitions of the Aleppine prelates who, aided and abetted by local wealthy and influential laymen, proclaimed their independence from the catholicos of Sis; and the disagreements between the clergy of Sis and of Aleppo over the question of relations with the Roman church. In the main, the rival catholicoses of Aleppo manifested a more pronounced Latinophile orientation, which can be explained by their closer associations with the local Latin missionaries, by their desire for western protection and aid in the campaign to strengthen their position vis-à-vis the catholicoses of Sis. Whenever the Aleppine rival catholicosate was restored, some arrangement was as a rule worked out whereby the spheres of authority were split up between the two catholicoses.¹⁵

It is important to note that, though the patriarchate of Constantinople had long since recognized the supreme spiritual authority of the see of Etchmiadzin, direct association between the hierarchies of Constantinople and Sis never ceased. The incumbents of the Cilician see occasionally visited the capital and participated, as distinguished guests, in national deliberations; and the Armenian authorities of Constantinople participated, sometimes directly and sometimes indirectly, in the election of the Cilician catholicoses.¹⁶ Prior to his elevation to the catholicos office, Simëon II (1633-1648) of Sis, for instance, had solemnly pledged to Patriarch Grigor Kesarats'i of Constantinople that he would recognize the supreme authority of the Constantinopolitan see and that he would not act independently of it.¹⁷ This of course implied recognition of the primacy of the see of Etchmiadzin which was represented by the patriarch.

Despite this, soon after his confirmation Simëon ordained a

bishop at Ankara, which then was under the spiritual jurisdiction of the see of Etchmiadzin. Responding to a protest from Patriarch Grigor of Constantinople, Catholicos P'lippos of Etchmiadzin suspended the newly ordained bishop and sent an encyclical of admonishment to Simēon and his constituency.¹⁸ P'lippos emphasized the supremacy of his see over the Cilician hierarchy on canonical, historical, and traditional grounds; he underscored the fact that the sees of the Caucasian Albanians and of Aght'amar, Constantinople, and Jerusalem were subordinate to his pontificate, and made clear his expectation that the Cilician hierarchy should follow suit. With a lack of statesmanship and tact, he referred to Simēon as a "nominal catholicos." He rightly accused Simēon of usurping bishoprics and ordaining as bishops clerics belonging to Etchmiadzin. In conclusion, he charged the Cilician clergy with grave malpractices, notably simony.

Catholicos Simēon's abusive and scornful reply¹⁹ is characteristic of the pretensions of many Cilician hierarchs. He refers to P'lippos as "catholicos of the Armenians," and to himself as "catholicos of *all* Armenians and patriarch of the holy see of Jerusalem," on the historically erroneous contention that his office was in direct line of succession to the pontificate founded by St. Gregory the Illuminator. On these grounds he argued that the see of Etchmiadzin was illegitimate. He asserted that he outranked P'lippos because he had been ordained catholicos by the "renowned" Patriarch Grigor of Constantinople and because the see of Jerusalem, which he claimed was "worth more than the entire see of Etchmiadzin," was under his jurisdiction. Simēon accused P'lippos of endeavoring to destroy the Cilician see, and spoke of the futility of such attempts, for Cilicia was "an Ottoman country" and the Ottomans' "judgment is equitable." As regards the principal cause of friction between the two sees, namely, the ordination of bishops, Simēon claimed that his actions were in keeping with historical tradition, as the catholicoses of both Etchmiadzin and Sis had always ordained bishops over constituencies not under their jurisdiction. And, finally, he not only rejected P'lippos' charges of corruption and simony, but accused the clergy of Etchmiadzin of the same sins.²⁰

Taking advantage of a pilgrimage to Jerusalem by Catholicos Simēon in 1638 and the presence of many ecclesiastics and prominent lay pilgrims, Patriarch Grigor Parontēr of Jerusalem sought

to settle the differences between the sees of Etchmiadzin and Sis. Simēon was persuaded to sign a pledge that henceforth he would refrain from ordaining bishops and other clergy not belonging to his see, provided that the catholicos of Etchmiadzin would do likewise; and that nuncios of either see should be welcomed in the other, and be permitted to solicit voluntary contributions. Etchmiadzin was not represented at these talks but P'ilippos, upon receiving a copy of the agreement, accepted its terms.²¹

It appears, however, that the irregularities continued as heretofore. Thirteen years later another meeting at Jerusalem was deemed necessary to establish a formal peace between the two sees. The conference was attended by Catholicos P'ilippos of Etchmiadzin and by Simēon's successor, Nersēs (1648-1654), as well as by many ecclesiastics and lay notables. In addition to reaffirming the rules enunciated in 1638, the conference drew up a new covenant looking toward the remedying of the two sees' unseemly rivalries. Only the first two of the thirteen canons adopted at this conference dealt with the relations between the two hierarchies. They stipulated that the catholicoses of Etchmiadzin and Sis should consecrate bishops each within his own territory; that a candidate for ordination should apply to the catholicos within whose jurisdiction he resided; that an ordained bishop should not renounce his own catholicos and come under the jurisdiction of the other; and that should a catholicos consecrate a bishop not belonging to his see such ordainee should be barred from the bishoprics of the other see. The remaining canons attempted to curb abuses and malpractices among the clergy of both sees. This important document was signed by the two catholicoses and by others who attended the conference. Copies of it were sent for implementation to all the bishoprics of the two sees.²² A contemporary account makes it clear that the canons were formulated by Catholicos P'ilippos himself, and that they were unanimously accepted by the Cilician catholicos and his clergy.²³

The rapprochement thus arrived at, however, failed in two important respects: it did not define the fundamental issue of the relation between the two sees and the scope of their authority over the bishoprics; and, failing to refer to the primacy of the see of Etchmiadzin, it left the impression that the two negotiated and agreed on the canons as equals. These omissions, however,

did not alter the generally recognized subordination of the Cilician hierarchy to the see of Etchmiadzin. The absence of an affirmation of Etchmiadzin's primacy in the canons is generally attributed to P'lippos' diplomatic tact and Christian spirit.²⁴

For a while, the terms of this agreement seem to have been respected by both sees. The basic issues dividing them were frequently raised under the successors of P'lippos and Nersēs, however. Moreover, taking advantage of the frequent disorders at Etchmiadzin, the Cilician incumbents persisted in their attempts to extend the limits of their jurisdiction at the expense of the former, and some even sought to become the sole spiritual head of the Armenian millet throughout the Ottoman empire.

THE AJAPAHIAN DYNASTY OF CATHOLICOSES, 1731-1865

The historical development of the Cilician catholicosate entered into its second, and more significant, phase when in 1731 the catholicosal office passed into the hereditary succession of the Ajapahian priestly family of Sis. The insecurity of the institution at the hands of the *derebeyes* had persisted unabated in Cilicia, particularly at Sis, frequently compelling the incumbent catholicoses to reside away from their historic seat. In view of this, the sacred relics of the church were entrusted to trustworthy married priests, called *ajpah* or *ajpan*, as custodians. One of these, Tēr Husik, desirous of putting an end to the see's instability and insecurity, proceeded to the Ottoman capital in 1731, and, paying the appropriate fees, secured an imperial *firman* recognizing the Cilician see as the hereditary possession of his family. Returning to Sis, he removed the incumbent Hovhannēs VI and replaced him with his own son Ghukas, with whom commenced the Ajapahian dynasty of catholicoses. Two other sons, Mik'ayēl and Gabriēl, succeeded Ghukas, and reigned until 1770, after which the throne was occupied by other members of the Ajapahian family.²⁵

The Ajapahian dynasty terminated once and for all the rival catholicosate of Aleppo, as well as put an end to the rivalry of ambitious ecclesiastics at Sis vying for the catholicosal office. In the main, the ten Ajapahian incumbents, some of whom had previously served as prelates of the bishopric of Aleppo, distinguished

themselves as worthy and dedicated religious leaders; they diligently endeavored to preserve the historic traditions of the Armenian church, and restored to their office its long-lost dignity and prestige. The most famous among them was Kirakos I (1797-1822), after whom the Ajapahians fell into disrepute on account of their ignorance, their lack of devotion to the clerical calling, apostasies within the family, and so forth.²⁶

Like their predecessors several of the Ajapahian catholicoses were assassinated by *derebeys*.²⁷ The constant rivalries among these overlords made life intolerable for the Cilician Armenians, and especially the catholicosate. "On the one hand the Ajapahians always built the Cilician see, on the other the Türkmen tyrants always destroyed it."²⁸

Under Mik'ayēl II Ajapahian (1832-1855) the Cilician see and its bishoprics reached a new height of maladministration, especially on account of the catholicos' most arbitrary ordination of bishops for pecuniary considerations. As the central authority of the Armenian millet, the patriarchate of Constantinople felt itself duty-bound to interfere in the internal affairs of the see, as evidenced by Patriarch Step'anos' strongly worded encyclical to the catholicos and his constituency in 1834.²⁹ This document concentrates primarily upon the malpractices of the Cilician priesthood, which apparently were condoned by the catholicos himself. Many of these ecclesiastics deserted sacerdotal duties in their local parishes because they claimed the revenues of the parish were insufficient to meet their personal needs and as a result they had been compelled to borrow money at interest in order to pay the so-called *salian* taxes on their houses and other properties. In consequence, a large number of them arrived in Constantinople to raise money to pay off their obligations. In the capital they wandered about "like vagabonds and beggars in the inns, mills and cemeteries, thereby bringing shame and insult to their sacred order and the entire nation." The encyclical notified Catholicos Mik'ayēl and the Cilician communities that an imperial edict had been secured abolishing the *salian* tax. The Cilician clergy were urged, therefore, on pain of severe punishment, to remain in their parishes, to attend to the spiritual needs of their congregations, and to abandon all worldly pursuits, devoting themselves to prayer, Biblical reading, and preaching.

Insofar as Catholicos Mik'ayēl is concerned, only in May 1850

did he pledge that he would refrain from consecrating bishops without the prior knowledge and consent of the patriarchate and its religious council. With a view to curtailing the independent actions of the catholicos and putting the bishoprics and monasteries of his see in an orderly state, the religious and civil councils at the capital not only drafted a set of regulations, but also appointed Bishop Ghukas Ajapahian catholicosal deputy to supervise the implementation of the administrative rules and to introduce other necessary reforms. Mik'ayēl and his councilors accepted the regulations in November 1851; but soon afterwards the catholicos broke his pledge. He not only ignored the new deputy, but even bribed the Kozan-Oghlu *derebeys*³⁰ to obtain their sanction to arbitrarily ordain new bishops. Under his disorderly conduct, the catholicosal institution, monasteries, and churches fell into shambles; dissensions within the bishoprics became commonplace; and the lack of strong and dedicated spiritual leadership accounted for many instances of apostasy.³¹ Only the persistent and strong admonishments of the Armenian authorities in the capital eventually succeeded in rectifying to some extent these conditions.

The National Constitution of 1863 introduced a radical change in the principles which for centuries had governed the administration of the patriarchate and the religious and civil institutions of the millet throughout the empire. The oligarchic system of government was replaced by a constitutional form of administration based on popular representation. Such a drastic change was sure to bring about practical and psychological repercussions, especially in the remote provincial regions where the new principles were little understood. Significantly, the constitution, which was promulgated during the incumbency of Catholicos Kirakos II Ajapahian (1855-1865) of Sis, contained not a single reference to the Cilician see. Historically, of course, the catholicosate had been subordinate to and had been represented at the Porte by the patriarch of Constantinople. Nevertheless this omission subsequently proved to be of very serious consequence.

Throughout the Ajapahian dynastic rule, the patriarchate had almost always been favorably disposed toward the Cilician see, and had rendered its incumbents every assistance to restore their hierarchy's prestige, influence, and above all orderly administration. With the exception of the patriarchate's bitter experiences

with Catholicos Mik'ayēl II, the Ajapahian catholicoses had in the main reciprocated the central authority's cordial attitude.

THE INTERREGNUM, 1865-1871

Following the death in 1865 of Kirakos II, the unavailability of a worthy Ajapahian ecclesiastic induced the patriarchate and the central authorities to put an end to the family's hereditary succession to the Cilician see. On the basis of the populist and democratic principles of the National Constitution, they resolved that the successor to the catholicosal office should be elected by the ecclesiastical and popular representatives of the Cilician bishoprics. The patriarchate immediately appointed Bishop Mkr-tich' Sēmērijian of Ayntab as locum tenens of the Cilician see, pending the election.

The enforcement of this drastic change in the system of succession was attended by grave complications. The Ajapahians and their relatives at Sis regarded the institution as their private possession. The new system would deprive them of their social prestige and, perhaps more importantly, the material benefits of their intimate associations with the institution. In consequence, they could hardly tolerate a non-Ajapahian catholicos. Nor was the Armenian population of Sis enthusiastic about the change.³²

The population of Cilicia as a whole was split into two factions regarding the catholicosal succession. The traditionalist minority held the view that Bishop-Prelate Nikoghos Kiulēsēnian, related to the Ajapahians through his mother, should forthwith and without interference from the patriarchate be appointed catholicos. The vast majority insisted that the catholicosal election should be conducted, under the supervision of the patriarchate's representatives, by the duly elected ecclesiastical and popular delegates of the Cilician communities, that is, in the same manner the constitution had provided for the election of the patriarch of Constantinople. Determined to face the patriarchate and millet with a fait accompli, the leaders of the minority group secretly ordained Nikoghos on June 11, 1866, as Catholicos Kirakos III.³³

The central authorities' reaction was prompt and vigorous. Patriarch Pōghos T'ak'tak'ian (1863-1869) of Constantinople issued an encyclical condemning Nikoghos' action as a "revolting audacity" and a "grave violation of the canons" of the Armenian

church. He proclaimed the assumption of the catholicosal office illegal and invalid, and urged that the Cilicians refuse to recognize Nikoghos as their spiritual leader.³⁴ Since the ordination had been effected contrary to the specific injunctions of the Porte, the patriarchate prevailed on the imperial authorities to take punitive measures against the recalcitrants. Accordingly, after having been summoned to the capital, Nikoghos was exiled to the monastery of Armash, near Izmit, and his ecclesiastical and secular accomplices were banished to various other places. These drastic measures underscored the national administration's determination to impress upon the various Armenian sees and the millet at large that the constitutional system of government was to replace the old methods.

Settling the question of the catholicosal election proved to be no easy task. The divergences of opinion in the Armenian national assembly at Constantinople became so grave that at one point the abolition of the regional catholicosal sees of Sis and Aght'amar was seriously considered.³⁵ At long last a special committee of the assembly, appointed at the initiative of Catholicos-elect Gēorg of Etchmiadzin, then still at the Ottoman capital, submitted its recommendations to the assembly. These included: the termination of the Ajapahians' hereditary succession to the Cilician see; the election by the regional assemblies and the national assembly of Constantinople of the catholicoses of Sis and Aght'amar, and their official confirmation and ordination by the catholicos of Etchmiadzin; the ordination of new bishops for the Cilician and Aght'amar sees only after prior written consent of the catholicos of Etchmiadzin; the official mention of the name of Etchmiadzin's incumbent by the catholicoses and clergy of the two sees in church services; the restriction of the use of the title "catholicos of all Armenians" to the incumbent of the see of Etchmiadzin, and the recognition of his supreme authority in matters affecting the Armenian church at large.³⁶

The national assembly appointed a number of committees to study the various aspects and ramifications involved in these recommendations. This, of course, neutralized its previous resolve to definitely settle the issue.³⁷ The national administration's "mixed council," composed of the religious and civil councils, made ten new recommendations about the authority of the hierarchical sees and their relation. These had the effect of placing

the catholicosates of Etchmiadzin and Cilicia on an equal footing.³⁸ Little wonder then that in his encyclical of April 1868, addressed to Patriarch T'ak't'ak'ian, Catholicos Gēorg denounced the proposals as "extraordinary and deplorable." He insisted that the Armenian church could have only one head, and demanded that the relations of the sees of Sis and Aght'amar vis-à-vis the catholicosate of Etchmiadzin be based upon the principle of the primacy of Etchmiadzin. Finally he threatened to pronounce them dissident and unlawful sees unless this were done.³⁹

The issues raised by Catholicos Gēorg were not only fundamental matters of jurisdiction and canon, but also involved questions affecting Ottoman and Russian policies toward the Armenian church and communities in their respective territories. Both the religious and political ramifications of the situation became the subject of heated debate in the Armenian national assembly and in the Armenian press.

A substantial portion of historic Armenia which had been under Persian dominion came under Russian rule in 1828 by the Russo-Persian Treaty of Türkmənçay. In March 1836, the Russian government enacted into law the *Polozhenie* — which it had formulated without consultation with the Armenian ecclesiastical authorities — for the administration of the Armenian church in the Caucasus and Russia.⁴⁰ This instrument put the Armenian church under the protective authority of the Russian tsar who was to select the catholicos from two candidates elected by an ecclesiastical assembly. The catholicos was to enjoy absolute powers over ecclesiastical, religious, and spiritual matters. The *Polozhenie* also established a synod, which was to have jurisdiction over the institution's administrative and financial affairs, and which was to be directly responsible to the ministry of the interior. In addition, it provided for the appointment by the government of an official *procureur* whose task was to supervise the activities of the synod and confirm the legality of its decisions. The tsar was also to enjoy the right of appointing and dismissing prelates of the bishoprics. In contrast to the provisions of the National Constitution of the Armenian millet in the Ottoman empire, the administration of the church under tsarist dominion was entrusted completely to the clerics, for, except for their limited participation in the election of the catholicos, laymen were to have no say at all.

The intervention of the government in the affairs of the Armenian church — such as the stipulation that its decisions were subject to the *procureur's* approval, and the requirement that the ministry of the interior see regular reports and financial statements — stemmed from the Russian policy that the church was an integral part of the governmental framework and therefore should be under its immediate supervision and control. This control was clearly alien to the traditions and customs of the Armenian church. Nevertheless the *Polozhenie* was a big step forward from the viewpoint of Armenian ecclesiastical organization and orderly administration. Indeed, the *Polozhenie*, which remained in force until World War I, was much more beneficial for the Armenians in Russia than was the National Constitution for the Armenians of the Ottoman empire.⁴¹

The Armenian authorities at Constantinople had never concealed their intense antagonism to the provisions of the *Polozhenie*, which they considered to be destructive of the Armenian church. It was generally felt that the preservation of the regional catholicosates of Sis and Aght'amar was essential as a protest against the restrictive provisions of the *Polozhenie* and the tsarist government's encroachments upon the Armenian church. The possibility that the incumbent of either of the two catholicosates would succeed to the pontificate might tend to curb tsarist presumptions. Finally, the Armenian leaders considered quite satisfactory the formula which gave primacy to Etchmiadzin as the "mother see" but administrative jurisdiction to Constantinople as ecclesiastical and civil leader of the millet.⁴² On these grounds, therefore, the national assembly rejected Catholicos Gēorg's demands.

Before turning to the election of a successor to the Cilician see, the national assembly had to reconcile the various sees' jurisdictional limitations with the demands of the new constitutional principles. These matters were duly debated in the assembly's sessions of 1870. There were four different proposals. All recognized the see of Etchmiadzin as the universal and supreme hierarchy, and its incumbent as the sole head of the Armenian church; the proposals differed only on the questions of the juridical status of the catholicos of Cilicia and the procedure of his election.⁴³ On September 25, 1870, the assembly resolved that the catholicos should be chosen by the ecclesiastical and popular representa-

tives of the Cilician constituencies, with the important proviso that the national administration at the capital had the right to confirm the electee.⁴⁴ The resolution recognized the general authority of the see of Etchmiadzin, but it denied to the pontificate the power to interfere in the Cilicians' electoral proceedings; instead, the assembly reaffirmed the Cilician see's subordination to the patriarchate of Constantinople, which acted in behalf of Etchmiadzin.⁴⁵

Having thus finally disposed of the controversial issues, the popularly elected Cilician assembly met on October 22, 1871, at Adana, under the supervision of the patriarchate's official representatives, and elected six catholicos candidates. After obtaining the patriarchate's formal approval of the slate of candidates, it elected on October 27 the prelate of Aleppo, Bishop Mkrtich' K'ëfsizian. However, not before the electee had signed a pledge agreeing in advance to the bylaws being drafted by the national administration in the capital respecting the Cilician see's rights and obligations vis-à-vis the patriarchate did the central authorities officially confirm the election. On November 8, 1871, K'ëfsizian, the first constitutionally elected catholicos of Cilicia, was ordained at Sis.⁴⁶

CATHOLICOS MKRTICH' K'ËFSIZIAN AND THE CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS, 1871-1894

On November 8, 1871, the national assembly at Constantinople adopted a set of regulations defining the juridical status and spiritual and administrative prerogatives and limitations of the Cilician see within the hierarchy of the Armenian millet.⁴⁷ For the first time since the promulgation of the Armenian National Constitution, it was formally affirmed that the constitution's provisions applied to the Cilician see and that Cilicia was subject to the decisions of the central executive bodies in the capital. The catholicos of Cilicia was recognized as the official liaison between the patriarchate and the Cilician see and bishoprics, and was held accountable to the patriarchate. He was empowered to determine matters referred to him by the prelates of his see in conjunction with his executive council, but it was stipulated that he should refer to the central administration in the capital such matters as fell be-

yond the bounds of his jurisdiction. Although the catholicos and the local prelates were recognized as the proper liaison between the Armenian communities and the local government authorities in Cilicia, the central administration was proclaimed the sole intermediary between the Cilician see as a whole and the Porte. The regulations also provided that the Cilician prelates should be elected in the manner prescribed in the National Constitution for the election of prelates of the other bishoprics throughout the empire. This meant that a Cilician bishopric could proceed with the election of its prelate only after having obtained the central administration's formal permission; that the official report of the election should be submitted by the catholicos to the central administration for approval; and that, after the patriarchate had received ratification of the election from the Porte, the electee would be installed in office by the catholicos. The regulations also recognized that the incumbent of the see of Sis, as an ecclesiastic holding the rank of catholicos, was canonically privileged to consecrate the holy chrism, but it was stipulated that this was to be distributed to the Cilician bishoprics alone. And, finally, the catholicos could perform episcopal ordinations for his see only after obtaining the prior consent of the central administration.

These and other provisions of the regulations designed for the orderly government of the Cilician see contained nothing that was fundamentally contrary to the principles and traditions that had always governed the relations between Constantinople and Sis, or those between the two sees and the Porte or the local governments. To be sure, violations of certain of these principles in the past had often seriously aggravated relations and had produced unfortunate repercussions. Above and beyond the patriarchate's desire for the universal application of the principles embodied in the national charter, the new Cilician regulations were motivated by the central administration's desire to prevent such violations by a system of checks and balances. Stability could be achieved only if the prerogatives, limitations, and obligations of the Cilician catholicos were clearly defined through legislation. Future developments proved, however, that the best intentions of the national assembly were to be frustrated by its own inexperience, by the unrealistic reaction of Catholicos Gēorg of Etchmiadzin, and most importantly by the unfortunate attitude of the newly elected Catholicos K'ēsizian of Sis.

Apprised of the national assembly's resolution and the provisions of the new regulations, Catholicos Gēorg hastened not only to admonish Patriarch Mkrtich' Khrimian for having acted in his behalf without his consent, but also to demand K'ēfsizian's immediate resignation.⁴⁸ Khrimian sought to assuage the catholicos by asserting that the assembly's recent actions had been motivated by an earnest desire to protect and even extend Etchmiadzin's authority by attempting to forestall the danger of the Cilicians' asserting the autonomy of their see. He assured the catholicos that by bringing Cilicia under the jurisdiction of the patriarchate and its legislative and executive bodies, the see's subordination to Etchmiadzin had been automatically safeguarded.⁴⁹

The position of the Armenian authorities at the capital was obviously influenced by the Porte's apprehensions of, and hostility to, Russia. For the realization of Gēorg's aspirations of direct and absolute control over the ecclesiastical institutions of the Ottoman empire would surely be construed by the Porte as tantamount to placing them under Russian authority. This was a contingency that the Armenian leaders at Constantinople felt must be avoided at all cost if the security of the empire's Armenian millet was to be safeguarded. On canonical grounds Gēorg's demands were legitimate, but on practical grounds they were both unrealistic and paradoxical. As observed earlier, the *Polozhenie* in fact allowed him very little control over the bishoprics of his own see — a fact which indeed may have motivated his repeated demands for extension of his direct jurisdiction to the Armenian millet of the Ottoman empire. In view of these considerations, the national assembly rejected in 1872 the catholicos' suggestion that it dispatch two authorized delegates to Etchmiadzin to negotiate an amicable settlement of the controversy.⁵⁰

Catholicos K'ēfsizian was also a source of difficulties. At the outset of his tenure he publicly denounced his own constituency at Sis,⁵¹ especially the Ajapahian family, who were resentful of the loss of their privileges resulting from the election of a non-Ajapahian catholicos. Subsequently he published a pamphlet, under a pseudonym, reiterating his charges against the people of Sis. He also denounced Catholicos Gēorg of Etchmiadzin, and proclaimed himself in the direct line of succession to the apostles Thaddeus and Bartholomew and St. Gregory the Illuminator. In the following year, 1873, he suggested to the central administra-

tion at Constantinople that the seat of the Cilician see should be removed from Sis to some other city in Cilicia; that the Ottoman government should allocate him a monthly salary; that the territorial limits of the Cilician see should be extended; and that the government should confer upon his see rights and privileges beyond those of a mere episcopal prelate.⁵² These extraordinary proposals could hardly conceal K'efsizian's personal ambitions, which clearly aimed at creating a new and separate Armenian millet independent of Constantinople. He obviously considered himself the equal of the catholicos of Etchmiadzin, and perhaps aspired to have himself recognized as the supreme ecclesiastical authority of the Armenians.⁵³

Little wonder, then, that the patriarchate categorically rejected K'efsizian's proposals. Instead, the central authorities sent him in 1874 a set of regulatory instructions, which had been formulated in accordance with the provisions of the National Constitution, defining more explicitly the relations of the Cilician see vis-à-vis the patriarchate, as well as the rules governing the internal organization and administration of Cilicia's ten bishoprics.⁵⁴ The regulations provided that each one of these bishoprics should have a provincial general assembly, as well as religious and civil councils, elected and organized in accordance with the provisions of the National Constitution and approved by the central authorities of the millet. As the acknowledged spiritual leader of the Cilician see, the catholicos was to oversee the activities of the provincial administrations and prelates of the bishoprics, implementing the provisions of the National Constitution and the directives of the central administration. In the event of infractions, it was the duty of the catholicos to warn the recalcitrants, and if they failed to comply he was to report to the center and enforce its decisions. The prelates of the individual bishoprics were to be elected by their respective provincial administrations from a list of clergy submitted to the catholicos by the central authorities. The electee was required to receive the patriarchate's approval prior to assuming his office. The regulations stipulated that the catholicos' prior consent was required before local bishops could ordain ecclesiastics for their parishes; and only after obtaining the approval in advance of the central administration could the catholicos consecrate bishops for his see. And, finally, the catholicos was permitted to establish a seminary at Sis to meet the needs of his see,

but he was required, in accordance with the National Constitution's provisions governing the council for monasteries, to report periodically to the center respecting its activities.

There is little doubt that the new regulations for Cilicia not only curtailed the historic prerogatives of the incumbent, but in effect reduced his see to a composite of bishoprics subordinated to the patriarchate and the central administration. Kiulēsērian ascribes this to the "inexperience and idealism of the constitutional councils" at Constantinople. He also admits, however, that K'ēfsizian himself, through his lack of statesmanship, seriously jeopardized the age-old prerogatives of his office.⁵⁵

K'ēfsizian's reaction to the regulations was characteristic of his general attitude. Refusing to enforce them, he insisted upon the acceptance of his earlier proposals. Not only did he fail to discharge even the most elemental responsibilities of his office, and left several major Cilician bishoprics without prelates; he also obstructed all the efforts of the patriarchate to rectify the situation. The result was a barrage of complaints and protests sent to the patriarchate from many constituencies of the Cilician see. In May 1875 the national assembly reaffirmed its rejection of K'ēfsizian's proposals and resolved to demand his resignation if he continued to insist upon their acceptance.⁵⁶

When K'ēfsizian realized that the impasse created between him and the patriarchate could not be settled in his favor, he resorted to political intrigue. In his eagerness to secure the protection of the Ottoman government, he irresponsibly accused the patriarchate of being under Russian influence on the grounds of its association with Etchmiadzin. The charge coincided with the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78. The Turks already suspected that the easy advance of Russian troops into the eastern provinces of Turkey, inhabited by the Armenians, was possible only through the complicity of the Armenians. Hence, they incited the Kurds and Circassians of these regions to effect a wholesale massacre of the Armenian peasantry. This military and political situation naturally exacerbated the normal relations between the Porte and the patriarchate, which explains the inability of the patriarchate to take any drastic action against K'ēfsizian's treacherous machinations. Insofar as the neglected Cilician bishoprics were concerned, the patriarchate endeavored to meet their immediate needs by dispatching prelates and other ecclesiastics, but K'ēfsizian either

refused to recognize them or failed to lend them any assistance. This state of affairs continued until the conclusion of the Russo-Turkish War.

Despite the unfavorable political climate, the patriarchate remained unyielding to K'ěfsizian's demands and insistent upon its plans for the extension of the constitutional system to the Cilician see. In a communication to the catholicos, Patriarch Nersēs Varzhapetian reaffirmed the center's categorical rejection of his proposals as tending to create a second Armenian millet in Cilicia. He described the situation prevailing there as "worse than anarchy," castigated K'ěfsizian for wandering about for some ten years away from his seat at Sis, deplored the episcopal vacancies, and demanded that the catholicos enforce the regulations or bear the consequences of his recalcitrance.⁵⁷

K'ěfsizian sought to counteract these unequivocal demands with the force of popular support. On October 15, 1880, he called into session at Sis the representative assembly of the Cilician bishoprics, and prevailed on it to adopt a declaration which he had prepared in advance. The declaration was ostensibly designed to meet the most urgent needs of the Cilician communities. Its real purpose, however, was to guarantee to the catholicos complete and absolute power over all the Cilician ecclesiastics and the provincial administrations, and his recognition as the sole intermediary between the see and the center. The six proposals included the creation of a Cilician general assembly and various other councils and committees similar to those existing in the national administration at Constantinople. The representatives of the see expected an annual outlay of 1500 liras, either from the Ottoman government or from the central administration, for the maintenance of a theological seminary; in the event this allocation was not made it was proposed to increase the see's revenues by extending its jurisdictional limits. And, finally, the declaration requested, in vague phraseology, that the patriarchate secure from the Porte special privileges for the Cilician see that would enhance its stature.⁵⁸ In essence, of course, the declaration was no more than a reiteration of the four proposals submitted earlier by K'ěfsizian and repeatedly rejected by the patriarchate. The important difference lay in the fact that now the proposals reflected the "official" position of the Cilician constituents.

In November 1880 K'ěfsizian arrived in Constantinople osten-

sibly to negotiate on the proposals with the central authorities. Fully cognizant of the fact that the authorities were not at all disposed to satisfy his demands, however, he entered into clandestine talks with the Ottoman officials to secure a separate and independent status for his see. K'ëfsizian's plan appealed to the Porte, for any division within the Armenian millet was sure to weaken its drive for reforms in the eastern provinces. To persuade the government of his loyalty, K'ëfsizian repeated the charge that the patriarchate nurtured pro-Russian sympathies.⁵⁹ Accordingly, on July 20, 1881, he obtained from the Porte a new berat officially confirming his election to office in which the customary statement of the Cilician see's subordination to the patriarchate was notably absent. Equally significant was the fact that certain privileges hitherto enjoyed by Cilician incumbents were also deleted.⁶⁰ In compensation for the latter, however, the berat assured K'ëfsizian of the coveted *mejidié* medal, as well as a monthly salary of thirty-five liras from the imperial treasury.⁶¹

Needless to say, the terms of the berat were in obvious violation of the patriarchate's *de jure* prerogatives, as well as of the principle of the Armenian millet's integrity. Little wonder, then, that Patriarch Varzhapetian vigorously protested to the Porte and demanded its immediate revocation. The patriarch insisted that K'ëfsizian should forthwith surrender the berat he had obtained under false pretenses and announce his unequivocal position with respect to the central administration's previous resolutions.

It is clear that K'ëfsizian did not have the support of his constituency in this fight. In May 1881 he had sent an inciting encyclical to his bishoprics and constituency at large suggesting that they rebel against the patriarchate,⁶² but received no response at all. In addition, the Cilician residents of Constantinople, to whom K'ëfsizian had appealed to support the Cilician assembly's declaration, opposed his designs. Instead, they supported the age-old jurisdictions of the patriarchate over Cilicia, and they urged the complete application of the National Constitution in their see.⁶³

The public disquietude and even resentment against K'ëfsizian became so strong that eventually he was constrained to pledge to Patriarch Varzhapetian that henceforth he would act in accordance with the regulations drafted by the central administration.⁶⁴

The new draft, which was signed by K'ěfsizian, redefined the Cilician see's relations with the catholicosate of Etchmiadzin and the patriarchate of Constantinople, and also provided rules governing the internal organization of the Cilician see.⁶⁵ According to its terms, the hierarchy of Sis recognized the supremacy of Etchmiadzin. The provisions of the National Constitution governing the administration of the provincial bishoprics were declared to be applicable to the Cilician bishoprics; nonetheless, the Cilician catholicos was recognized as the direct intermediary between the see's provincial administrations and the millet's central authorities. This was a departure from the central administration's original draft, and hence a concession to the Cilician incumbent's historic prerogatives over his own bishoprics. In addition, Sis was reaffirmed as the catholicosal seat, with the further proviso that its monastic affairs should be governed by an ecclesiastical assembly and on the basis of new internal bylaws. It was also provided that the prelates and representatives of the Cilician provincial assemblies should meet annually to discharge the see's fiscal affairs, and to decide upon measures designed for the general welfare and intellectual and moral progress of the Armenian communities of Cilicia.

No sooner had the agreement been hailed as a signal victory than K'ěfsizian, who meantime had received the *mejdié* medal and the promised salary from the government, rejected the regulations he had formally accepted, declaring that he had signed it under duress.⁶⁶ The central issue of the grave crisis which K'ěfsizian thus precipitated was the berat which, virtually recognizing the Cilician communities as a separate millet, had had the effect of disrupting the unity of the Armenians of the empire. In protest against this, as well as in view of the government's increasingly hostile attitude toward the Armenians, Patriarch Varzhapetian offered his resignation to the Porte, which it refused to accept.⁶⁷

After much equivocation the government, on May 1, 1882, revoked K'ěfsizian's berat, and thereby reaffirmed the Cilician see's status as subordinate to the authority of the patriarchate.⁶⁸ K'ěfsizian immediately left the capital — a move which once again thwarted the definitive resolution of the controversial issues. His efforts to abolish the constitutional councils when he arrived in Cilicia, however, met with the opposition of his own people.⁶⁹

Nevertheless he continued to refuse to return the berat to the Porte and to accuse the patriarchate of being an agent of Russian political interests.⁷⁰ So utterly was he discredited that even his own constituents pleaded with the central administration for corrective measures.

The patriarchate, on the other hand, found itself in a most precarious and embarrassing situation. Despite the mounting protests from the Cilician bishoprics, it avoided drastic measures against K'ëfsizian fearing that a grave schism or serious retaliation from the Porte might result. The patriarchate, moreover, was not sure that it legally could depose the catholicos or impose ecclesiastical sanctions on him. The central authorities periodically discussed the issue, but always failed to arrive at any definitive resolution, hoping perhaps that the government eventually would recover the berat which it had rescinded. But the grand vizier and the ministries concerned continued to equivocate.⁷¹ This state of affairs persisted until K'ëfsizian's death at Aleppo on November 8, 1894.

It is paradoxical that K'ëfsizian obstructed and vitiated every effort of the central authorities to elevate the educational, social, and economic standards of the Cilician constituents, but at the same time he sought to achieve these ends through the assistance of the Church of England. Perhaps encouraged by reports that the Archbishop of Canterbury had made a contribution of 50,000 gold pounds to the Nestorian bishop at Mosul for the religious and educational needs of his communicants, K'ëfsizian made a similar appeal to the Anglican prelate in the early 1890's. In a letter addressed to the archbishop, which also bore, unbeknownst to them, the "signatures" of six other Cilician prelates, K'ëfsizian described the wretched political, social, and economic condition of his constituents, and the deplorable state of the catholicosal monastery at Sis. He appealed for substantial financial assistance, with which he hoped to convert the monastery into an intellectual center for the Cilician Armenians, and establish there a theological seminary under the deanship of a British bishop. He referred to a possibility of converting the lands owned by Armenians in the Cilician plains into model farms. He also suggested that the British government might assume political protection of the Armenians in Cilicia.

In response the Archbishop of Canterbury dispatched two

clergymen to Cilicia in 1892 to investigate the situation in the Cilician communities. The outcome of the mission is obscure, but it appears that the representatives found the catholicos' proposals impracticable, and came to the realization that any such assistance to the Cilician catholicosate would be interpreted by the Ottoman state as foreign intervention.⁷²

The choice of Mkrtich' K'ēfsizian as the first Cilician catholicos elected under the new constitutional system proved to be a most unfortunate one. His past record of service at Jerusalem, Damascus, Ankara, and Egypt had been marked by a chain of scandals resulting from his insubordination to authority, embezzlement of church funds, and commercial activities.⁷³ Nonetheless, the Cilician assembly, impressed particularly by his reported immense wealth, which they hoped he would expend on the improvement of the see, voted for this native son.

K'ēfsizian's twenty-three-year incumbency coincided with those of outstanding hierarchs of the Armenian church at Etchmiadzin, Constantinople, and Jerusalem, but his relations with them were most unfriendly especially on account of his meaningless jurisdictional controversies. By cooperating with the central authorities in the capital, which since the inauguration of the National Constitution had gained a new prestige throughout the Ottoman lands, K'ēfsizian could have derived many moral and material benefits for the welfare of his see. But, as one who was seemingly averse to orderly constitutional government, he failed to devote his energies to the task of reorganizing the Cilician bishoprics, several of which were left without prelates, and employed every means to thwart the Constantinopolitan patriarchate's endeavors in this regard. Unmindful of the tremendous changes brought about by the new system of community government in the life of the Armenian millet and its institutions, K'ēfsizian was out of step even with his own bishoprics which appreciated the benefits accruing from a closer association with the central authorities. Failing to recognize that under the new order the influence not only of the Cilician see but also that of Etchmiadzin had been substantially curtailed by sanction of the Ottoman government, he sought, at the expense of his own constituency, to assert his ambitious pretensions, but to no avail. Instead of attending to his spiritual and administrative responsibilities, he spent more of his time and energy on the investment of his material resources.

THE INCUMBENCY OF CATHOLICOS SAHAK KHAPAYIAN

K'ēfsizian's death did not solve the difficulties which for so long had beset the Cilician see. Indeed for some eight years complications of an essentially political nature obstructed the election of a successor. At the direction of the central administration the Cilician general assembly, meeting at Sis on June 7, 1895, under the presidency of the patriarchate's representative, elected Bishop Grigoris Alēat'jian of Constantinople as catholicos of the Cilician see. The central administration approved the election a week later. It seemed doubtful that the Porte would ratify the choice, however, in view of the fact that Alēat'jian had previously been investigated on charges of complicity with Armenian revolutionaries. This prompted a few of the Cilician bishops to protest to the Porte, allegedly in behalf of the see's constituents, against what they called the irregularity of the election.⁷⁴ Without awaiting a response they secretly ordained another bishop, Hovhannēs Gazanjian, as catholicos on July 18 at Sis.⁷⁵

The situation was further complicated by the Porte's refusal to approve either of the two ecclesiastics, Alēat'jian because politically he was *persona non grata*, and Gazanjian on account of the patriarchate's rejection of his usurpation of office.⁷⁶ The succession to the patriarchate of Constantinople of Matt'ēos Izmirlian, an outspoken and ardent nationalist whose loyalty to the state was as suspect as Alēat'jian's and who strongly supported Alēat'jian, had the effect of further enhancing the Porte's intransigence. Not only did it formally announce its irrevocable decision to deny ratification to Alēat'jian's election; it also offered clandestine encouragement to Gazanjian's pretensions to the catholicosal office.⁷⁷ This state of affairs continued until Izmirlian's resignation from the patriarchal office in July 1896.

The majority of the Cilician constituents, nevertheless, gave every evidence of their loyalty to the patriarchate, and vigorously opposed Gazanjian's usurpation. At long last, the Porte yielded to the patriarchate's repeated remonstrances and, removing Gazanjian from office, exiled him to Beirut in March 1897. Thereafter Bishop Kirakos Bek'mēzjian, appointed by the patriarchate as catholicosal locum tenens at Sis, administered the affairs of the see in accordance with the instructions of the central authori-

ties. During the ensuing two years negotiations were carried on between the central authorities and the Porte regarding ratification of the election of Bishop Alēat'jian. The patriarchate not only guaranteed the electee's integrity and complete loyalty to the state, but also submitted to the Porte a declaration signed by the ecclesiastic denying the political charges made against him. All this was insufficient to dispel Sultan Abdul Hamid's suspicions, however.⁷⁸

The government's refusal to ratify the election was unprecedented. This at least in part explains the Armenian authorities' inability to agree on a course of action. The issue became the subject of an extended debate in the councils of the patriarchate and the national assembly. Because it was recognized that the Porte's uncompromising stand could not be altered, their efforts were largely devoted to finding legal arguments to justify the Ottoman action. It was argued that the right to ratify implied the right to deny ratification. It was pointed out that the tsar discharged this power by selecting one of two catholicosal candidates; and that the Greek millet elected its patriarch only after the Porte had eliminated some candidates from a list submitted to it by the community.

The patriarchate eventually agreed to leave the Cilician see vacant and manage its affairs through the locum tenens until Alēat'jian's death. This was considered the best solution even though it presented another serious problem from the standpoint of the general welfare of the Armenian church. The tsarist government's increasingly arbitrary and restrictive measures at this time seriously jeopardized the very existence of the see of Etchmiadzin, and the vacancy of the Cilician see was sure to intensify this danger.⁷⁹ Soon afterwards, however, Bishop Alēat'jian died unexpectedly — this, of course, paved the way for a new election.

Bishop Sahak Khapayian of Jerusalem arrived in Cilicia in February 1900, as the official representative of the patriarchate, to make arrangements for, and to preside over, the electoral procedure. But it soon became evident that the Porte was determined to effect the election independently of the patriarchate and its representative. The ministry of religious affairs instructed the governor of Adana to have Bishop Bek'mēzjian convene the Cilician assembly, which was to draw up a list of candidates. The election would be held after the undesirable candidates had been

eliminated from the list by the Porte, which would also receive the official election report directly, instead of through the customary intermediary of the patriarchate.

Much that affected the juridical status of the Armenian millet was at stake in the government's intervention. Hence, Patriarch Maghak'ia Ōrmanian (1896-1908) and the central authorities reacted immediately to this violation of the millet's age-old privileges by instructing the Cilician assembly to refuse to conduct the election if Bishop Khapayian were not permitted to preside. The authorities also protested most vigorously against the Porte's violation of the legal system that had for centuries governed the relations between the political authority and the millet. Moreover, Ōrmanian declared that as patriarch of the entire Armenian community in the empire, he could not acquiesce in the dismemberment of a segment of the millet — a contingency which it was feared would result from the Porte's policy.⁸⁰

These strong remonstrances, and especially the Cilician assembly's refusal to comply with the Porte's directives, eventually induced the government to change its policy.⁸¹ Despite its signal victory, the central authorities were compelled to accede to the Porte's emphatic demand that it exercise the right to approve in advance the list of the catholicosal candidates. The acquiescence was dictated by a number of practical considerations. In the first place, it was recognized that the principle of submitting the lists of candidates was practiced by the Greek Orthodox and Armenian Catholic millets. In addition it was deemed prudent to have the undesirable candidates taken off the list beforehand rather than run the risk of electing one who might be rejected later. Moreover, it was felt to be in the interests of the church as a whole not to leave the Cilician see without an incumbent.⁸²

The controversy having been resolved, the Cilician assembly, meeting on October 20, 1901, under the presidency of Bishop Sahak Khapayian, selected six candidates, four of whom were eliminated from the list by the Porte. Meeting again on November 25, the assembly elected one of the remaining two, Gēorg Erēts'ian, as catholicos of Cilicia. It was generally felt that the crisis was thus at long last resolved. But Erēts'ian's resignation, ostensibly because he aspired to the patriarchal office of Jerusalem, precipitated further complications.⁸³ When the central administration's efforts to have Erēts'ian withdraw his resignation failed, the Cilicians, convinced that their welfare depended

almost entirely upon their close association with the patriarchate, took no action that might prejudice the bond and awaited further instructions from the national leaders.⁸⁴

The patriarchate having obtained the Porte's formal consent to a new election, the Cilician assembly met again on October 12, 1902, and by a unanimous vote elected Bishop Sahak Khapayian to the catholicosal office. The election was approved by the patriarchate; and the sultan not only ratified the choice but awarded to him the first order of the *mejidié* decoration.⁸⁵ It is significant that the Porte's official decree issued to Catholicos Sahak reaffirmed the status of the Cilician see within the framework and under the general authority of the patriarchate.⁸⁶ At last, the Cilicians could hope for a rebirth of their historic see under a constitutionally elected catholicos who enjoyed the respect and confidence of the government, the patriarchate, and the nation at large.

Upon his elevation to the high post, Catholicos Sahak gave immediate proof of his statesmanship. During the solemn rites of his ordination, he took the unprecedented step of mentioning the name of Catholicos Khrimian of Etchmiadzin, signaling thereby a reconciliation with the mother see.⁸⁷ Moreover, in his first official encyclical he referred to Etchmiadzin as "the first and pre-eminent see." He also expressed his earnest wishes for the continued strength of the patriarchate in its capacity as the principal representative of the empire's Armenian millet.⁸⁸

The task assumed by Sahak was indeed a formidable one. After several decades of maladministration and political complications, he now was expected to restore normalcy to the ecclesiastical institution in Cilicia; to administer the religious and civil affairs of thirteen bishoprics with an estimated number of 250,000 constituents; to provide them with spiritual, moral, and intellectual guidance; and to secure the required financial resources for the improvement of their institutions. Even in normal circumstances this was by no means an easy task; and there was little doubt that these objectives could be achieved only in cooperation with the central authorities in the capital. Indeed, soon after his election, Sahak assured Patriarch Örmelian and the central administration that he would spare no effort in establishing most cordial relations with the hierarchical sees of the Armenian church.⁸⁹

In view of this, until Sahak's visit to Constantinople in 1904

Örmanian and the central administration had been convinced that the new catholicos had tacitly accepted the Cilician regulations that had been rejected by K'êfsizian. During his stay in the capital in 1904 the subject was discussed, and he was given a copy of the regulations. However, he failed to attend the meeting on their implementation that had been scheduled with him.⁹⁰ The circumstances of Sahak's stay, and particularly his summary departure for Cilicia, are still obscure. Be that as it may, upon returning to Sis he notified the patriarchate that he could not accept the stipulation that he obtain the center's prior approval in the matter of the ordination of bishops to the Cilician see. In a communication on the same subject to Catholicos Khrimian of Etchmiadzin, he also proposed that the traditional distinction between the bishops of the two sees should be removed; that Cilician bishops should be permitted to hold office in bishoprics which were under the general jurisdiction of Etchmiadzin; and, finally, that the principle that Cilician bishops were eligible for the Constantinopolitan patriarchal office should be accepted.⁹¹ In another letter to Patriarch Örmanian he asked about the central administration's disposition regarding these proposals.⁹² Clearly Sahak placed heavy emphasis upon his title of "catholicos" and upon the historical prerogatives exercised by his predecessors in the matters of the ordination of bishops and the consecration of the holy chrism. By implication he also seemed to regard the Cilician segment of the Armenian community as a separate millet.⁹³

Patriarch Örmanian's position with regard to these issues was based upon the fundamental principle of the unity of the Armenian church under its sole head at Etchmiadzin, and upon the unity of the Armenian millet with its head and center at Constantinople. Within this framework the secondary see of Cilicia could have no pretensions of primacy or even equality. As for the question of episcopal ordinations, the fact was that the catholicos of Etchmiadzin did not ordain bishops for the prelaties of Turkey without the prior recommendation of the patriarchate. Nevertheless Örmanian had shown a special regard for the Cilician see, and recognized the unique role which it could play in the grave situation which then confronted the Armenian church. This is evidenced by the fact that when Catholicos Khrimian of Etchmiadzin sought his counsel regarding the tsarist government's

arbitrary confiscation of the Armenian church establishments in the Caucasus, Ōrmanian recommended that the incumbent of the Cilician see be proclaimed "coadjutor catholicos" of Etchmiadzin. The underlying motivation was that in the event the existence of the pontifical see was threatened the Cilician catholicos would automatically be recognized as the supreme head of the Armenian church. Such a move, it was felt, might serve as a warning to the tsarist government and help ensure the continuity of the supreme catholicosate. Within the constitutional limits, moreover, Ōrmanian earnestly sought to restore the Cilician see's stature. This is substantiated by the fact that, although from 1896 onwards the Cilician bishoprics had always appealed to the patriarchate for the direction of their affairs, Ōrmanian now urged them to appeal directly to Catholicos Sahak.⁹⁴

While negotiations were being carried out to resolve jurisdictional issues, Catholicos Sahak, without obtaining the patriarchate's prior consent, conferred the episcopal ordination on the vardapet Mushegh Serobian for the bishopric of Adana on October 29, 1906. The religious council of the central administration immediately countered by officially proclaiming that henceforth bishops ordained by the Cilician incumbent could only officiate in the Cilician bishoprics.⁹⁵ This firm decision was not inspired, as some authors have contended, by the patriarchate's antagonism to the Cilician hierarchy. Rather, it was designed to counter the Porte's increasingly adamant insistence that ordination of episcopal candidates of the Armenian church in Turkey be held at Sis instead of Etchmiadzin. The ordination of Serobian by the Cilician catholicos, at a time when the patriarchate and the Porte were sharply divided on this issue, had the effect of supporting the government's position at the expense of the patriarchate.⁹⁶

In the end Sahak appealed to Catholicos Khrimian to arbitrate the controversy and sought his concurrence in the proposal that the distinction between bishops of Etchmiadzin and Cilicia be discontinued, on the grounds that the Armenian church and her officials were one and the same. In support of this, he enclosed a copy of the oath which Serobian had taken, and which he claimed made no distinction between the two sees; rather, it stipulated obedience to both.⁹⁷

In another communication, dated February 26, 1907, to Patriarch Ōrmanian, Catholicos Sahak made some paradoxical rec-

ommendations which he claimed would ensure the unity of the Armenian church and guarantee harmonious relations among the various hierarchical sees. He asserted that in religious matters the Cilician catholicos was independent of the patriarchate, on the grounds that his prerogative to ordain bishops and consecrate the holy chrism endowed him with greater canonical authority than the patriarchs. He suggested that in matters of faith affecting the church as a whole the Cilician catholicos might enter into consultations or exchange views with the catholicos of Etchmiadzin. He expressed readiness to obtain the center's prior approval in the ordination of bishops, provided that the new prelates were permitted to officiate in bishoprics outside of the Cilician see, and could hold the highest ecclesiastical posts wherever they might be regardless of their affiliation. Agreeing that the Cilician catholicos should, as heretofore, continue to deal with the central Ottoman authorities through the intermediary of the patriarchate, Sahak maintained that in urgent circumstances he should be empowered to appeal to the Porte directly. He emphatically opposed the central administration's confirmation of the Cilician prelates, and insisted that their appointment should be confirmed by an encyclical of the catholicos himself. In conclusion, Sahak urged that the patriarchate, in consultation with the see of Etchmiadzin and after due examination of these recommendations, formulate a new set of firm regulations.⁹⁸ His assertions to the contrary notwithstanding, Sahak's proposals tended to place the sees of Etchmiadzin and Cilicia on an equal footing. Moreover, his suggestions in the main were contrary to the principles which governed the relationship of the sees as sanctioned by tradition and reaffirmed in the National Constitution.⁹⁹

The negotiations between the patriarchate and Catholicos Sahak on these points continued. Meantime Sahak had on a number of occasions appealed to Catholicos Khrimian, hoping that he would bring pressure to bear on the patriarchate. After a long silence Khrimian finally urged him, in a communication dated April 26, 1907, not to pursue "vainglorious and non-essential matters." Instead, he exhorted Sahak to devote his energies to the "elevation of the morally dilapidated state of the provincial people, and to inculcate in his constituents the spirit of fraternal cooperation." Nevertheless, Khrimian did not fail to emphasize the important position of the Cilician see, which he asserted was

second in importance to the primary, universal, and apostolic see of Etchmiadzin.¹⁰⁰ Khrimian's implied rebuke must have had its desired effect, for henceforward Sahak never again raised the controversial issues.

Be that as it may, the promulgation of the Ottoman Constitution in 1908, the resignation of Ormanian from the patriarchal office, and the transference of the central administration at the capital into new hands left Sahak's proposals in abeyance. Then in 1909 the millet was jolted when Turkish troops and mobs massacred some 30,000 Armenians in Cilicia and northwestern Syria. And in consequence of the Turkish policy of genocide, countless Cilician Armenians lost their lives during World War I and thousands more were deported to the Syrian desert. In 1915 the catholicos and several of his bishops were summarily deported to Jerusalem.

THE PORTE AND THE HIERARCHIES OF THE ARMENIAN CHURCH

In May 1916 Sahak was confronted by a most bizarre situation. At a private meeting with Jemal Pasha, commander of the Turkish forces in Syria, he was informed of the government's decision to completely sever the relations of the Armenians of the empire with the catholicosate of Etchmiadzin, to abolish the Armenian hierarchical sees of Sis, Aght'amar, Constantinople, and Jerusalem, and to create a single catholicosate-patriarchate for all the Armenians of the empire with headquarters at Jerusalem. The extraordinary position thus envisaged was offered to Catholicos Sahak himself. Such were the political circumstances that he could not argue that the plan was in gross violation of the centuries-old canons and traditions of the Armenian church. When in the end he most reluctantly accepted the position, he did so with the hope that his cooperation might be instrumental in bringing about cessation of the massacres and deportations of the Armenian people. He also assumed that upon the conclusion of the war this arbitrary arrangement would be reversed and the see of Etchmiadzin and the patriarchate of Constantinople would reassume their canonical and traditional authority.¹⁰¹

The official confirmation of Sahak's new title and office was proclaimed on August 11, 1916.¹⁰² Shortly thereafter he received the new Regulations of the Armenian Catholicosate and Patri-

archate, formulated by the Porte and bearing the signatures of Sultan Mehmet Reshat and all his ministers, which was henceforward to serve as the law governing the Armenian church and millet.¹⁰³

This document, which abrogated the National Constitution, specified that the catholicosate would engage solely in religious affairs and limited its contacts with the government to the ministry for religious affairs alone. It abolished the other ecclesiastical sees within the Ottoman dominions and proclaimed that "the relations of the Armenians with the catholicosate of Etchmiadzin have been completely cut off."

According to the regulations, the new hierarchy was to be governed by two executive councils: a religious council and a "joint council." The religious council was to be composed of twelve bishops, half appointed by the government and half elected by the council itself. Its duties were to oversee the millet's ecclesiastical affairs and institutions, and to appoint prelates to bishoprics with the consent of the ministry. The joint council was also to consist of twelve members, four from the religious council and eight laymen appointed by prelates on a rotary plan. Its duties were to administer the see's finances and properties, including all the churches, monasteries, and schools throughout the empire. The members of both councils were to be approved by the ministry. The decisions of the councils would not be considered valid unless their sessions were presided over by the catholicos. They could meet in extraordinary joint session only by prior consent of the ministry, and only for the purpose of electing a locum tenens or to indict or depose the catholicos.

As for the election of the catholicos, the regulations provided that, at the invitation of the locum tenens, the bishoprics would elect two delegates each, one clerical and one lay, who would meet in assembly at Jerusalem with the religious and joint councils to select a list of candidates consisting of at least seven bishops. The government reserved the right of eliminating the names of those candidates which it "considered to be unworthy on political grounds." The assembly would meet again to elect three candidates from the revised list; and, finally, the religious council would elect one of the three as catholicos-patriarch. The electee would assume office after obtaining the imperial decree. If he acted contrary to the new regulations or to the interests of

the Armenian millet and the state he could be removed from office by the Ottoman council of ministers. The ministry for religious affairs was also authorized to dismiss prelates and other clerics, as well as members of the executive councils, if they violated the regulations or acted contrary to the interests of the state and the millet.

The diocesan prelates were to be elected by the religious council and would assume office after obtaining their official berats. Each prelate was to have two separate advisory bodies under his jurisdiction, one consisting of ecclesiastics and the other of leading local laymen. These councils could not interfere in the official functions of the prelate, and their decisions were subject to his approval. The regulations permitted the religious council to oversee the instruction of religious subjects in Armenian parochial schools, and the joint council to administer their fiscal affairs; nevertheless all of these educational institutions were placed under the control of the ministry of education and subjected to the laws of the state.

This scheme proved to be short-lived. Subsequent to the conclusion of the armistice of 1918, all the Armenian hierarchical sees, excepting the catholicosate of Aght'amar, were restored. Returning to Cilicia with his surviving communicants, Catholicos Sahak shook off the extraordinary title which had been thrust upon him, and as catholicos of Cilicia endeavored to restore his see and its bishoprics. With the military and diplomatic successes of Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk) and the withdrawal of the French from Cilicia following the conclusion of the Franklin-Bouillon Agreement of October 1921 his hopes were once again shattered. Some 130,000 Armenian refugees having settled in Syria and Lebanon, the French mandatory authorities in 1924 officially recognized Catholicos Sahak as the spiritual leader of the revived Cilician see, now confined to the bishopric of Aleppo. In 1929, however, the patriarchate of Jerusalem placed under the authority of the Cilician see the communities of Beirut, Damascus, and Latakia, which for centuries had been under the Holy City's jurisdiction. In consequence of this transaction, the reconstituted catholicosate of Cilicia comprised four bishoprics, Aleppo, Damascus, Beirut, and Cyprus, with the catholicosal seat at Antilias, on the outskirts of Beirut.

CHAPTER X

The Bishopric of Aleppo

ITS ORGANIZATION UNTIL THE 1860's

NOT MUCH IS KNOWN either of the territorial extent or the administrative and organizational structure of the bishopric of Aleppo prior to the nineteenth century. It is perhaps safe to assume that, not unlike the other dioceses of the catholicosate of Cilicia, the administration of the ecclesiastical and civil affairs of the communities which comprised the Aleppine bishopric was entrusted primarily to the prelate appointed by the Cilician see. In the administration of his constituency, the prelate, it must be assumed, was assisted by the local clergy who were responsible for individual parishes. At his episcopal seat in Aleppo, he presided over an ecclesiastical council, composed of the local celibate and married priests. The council's function seems to have been only advisory, for the prelate was directly responsible to the religious head at Sis. As in the capital and elsewhere throughout the empire, the local wealthy magnates, who provided for the bulk of the community's financial needs, undoubtedly wielded great influence in the administration of religious and civil affairs.

One such magnate, Rêis Esayi, figures prominently in the life of the Aleppine community in the last quarter of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries. His munificence was responsible for the construction of an elegant building for the Armenian prelacy, which in later times served not only as the official residence of the Cilician catholicoses who frequently visited Aleppo, but also as the home of the prelacy's scriptorium. Esayi built lodgings for Armenians visiting the city, particularly the pilgrims going to and from the Holy Land. In addition to restoring and enlarging the Armenian chapel of St. K'arhasnits',

he undertook the restoration, either completely or in part, of the adjacent Maronite church of St. Elijah and the Greek church of St. George.¹ Esayi's altruistic gesture appears to have been inspired in part by practical considerations. Concern for the ecclesiastical institutions of the Greeks and Maronites, who played a prominent role in the city's commerce and economic life, was expected to create cordial relations from which the Armenian mercantile class and the community at large would benefit. Indeed, the Aleppine Armenians seem always to have sought to live in peace and harmony not only with the Christians but with the Muslim majority and the Jewish community as well.

From the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, which represented the most prosperous period in the history of the Armenian Aleppine community, the Armenian magnates originally of Julfa, who occupied a leading place in Aleppo's international commerce, exercised almost absolute control over the community's affairs.² Beginning in the 1550's a considerable number of such magnates acted as intermediaries between oriental and European commerce. They took advantage of the presence of European consuls and commercial agents in Aleppo to establish contacts with occidental firms. As a result of their extensive commercial enterprises, they not only gained the trust of the local Ottoman authorities, but also enriched the coffers of the imperial treasury at Constantinople. In consequence, their prestige and influence in the Armenian community became so great that they even had one of their own compatriots from Julfa, Bishop Azaria (1584-1601), elected catholicos of the Cilician see. The fact that he preferred to establish his seat at Aleppo, and indeed died there, testifies to their great power, as well as to the significance which the bishopric of Aleppo had attained in the Cilician catholicosate.³

By far the most prominent of the Armenian magnates of Aleppo in the first half of the seventeenth century were the two brothers Chelebi Petik and Chelebi Sanos of Julfa. The first of these was the chief of customs of Aleppo, Tripoli, and Alexandretta; the second was the chief of customs of Erzurum. Petik also superintended the city's khans and public baths.⁴ Above all, however, Petik and Sanos operated an extensive international trade in silk and textiles with European markets, especially in Holland and Italy.⁵ In 1616 the two brothers built, adjacent to the old and small church of St. K'arhasnits', a large cathedral, which hence-

forth became the community's religious, civil, and also cultural center.⁶

By the end of the seventeenth century the commercial power wielded by the Armenian magnates of Julfa came to a virtual halt, and their position within the Aleppine community was assumed by the new settlers from Akin and Arapkir. This group's prestige among their countrymen throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries emanated principally from their economic and social status. Many of them were in the employ of the governors, of high-ranking political and military functionaries of the Ottoman government, and of foreign consulates. Moreover, many of the settlers from Arapkir in particular, who served as chamberlains, commercial agents, and bankers in the more than one hundred khans and caravansaries at Aleppo, amassed large fortunes.⁷

A contemporary British physician, Dr. Alexander Russell, asserts that, beginning in the second half of the seventeenth century, each Christian community at Aleppo, including the Armenian, was represented before the local government by a lay *vekil*, elected by a council composed of the community's notables and confirmed by the pasha of the vilayet. A salaried official, the *vekil*'s chief functions were to administer the community's fiscal affairs. His office was by no means an easy one, for no matter how honestly he performed his duties the charge of corruption and embezzlement always hung over his head. He was not only at the mercy of those who were responsible for his election, but also of the government which frequently held him accountable when its relations with the community were disturbed for one reason or another.⁸

The activities of the Roman Catholic missionaries at Aleppo, beginning in the seventeenth century, induced a number of the local Armenian ecclesiastics and laymen to adhere to the Roman faith. Their spiritual separation from the ancestral church gradually disrupted the community. The concerted efforts of the Latin missionaries and their Armenian followers to gain control of the ecclesiastical institutions, as a preliminary to converting the community to Catholicism, became a major concern not only of the local ecclesiastical and secular authorities, but of the Cilician catholicosate as well. As staunch defenders of the national church, the Ajapahian catholicoses of Sis sought to arrest the increasingly serious threat posed by the militant Latinophile segment of the

Aleppine community, and to ensure the constant vigilance of the loyal majority. Moreover, since the bishopric of Aleppo was the most prosperous among the Cilician constituencies, the catholicoses relied heavily upon the munificence of its wealthy oligarchs. These considerations impelled them to appoint prelates whose loyalty to the national church was beyond reproach, and who enjoyed the confidence and respect not only of the see but also of the local Aleppine magnates. Little wonder, then, that generally the Ajapahian catholicoses entrusted the Aleppine prelatial office to their own relatives.⁹

The Armenian intellectual activity at Aleppo centered about the Dasatun (literally, seminary or center of learning), which in fact was more of a scriptorium than an educational institution, though at times it served the latter purpose as well.¹⁰ The Dasatun seems to have been founded about the middle of the fourteenth century; but it actually flourished from the beginning until about the end of the seventeenth century. During this most productive period in Aleppine-Armenian history, such outstanding catholicoses as Azaria of Julfa and Petros of Karkarh spent many years in the city, and supervised the activities of the Dasatun. Under the general superintendence of the master artist Israyēl of Amit, the institution trained noted copyists, illustrators, and binders of manuscripts. For all intents and purposes, the center of the see of Cilicia was transferred to Aleppo where the ecclesiastical authorities virtually established a monastic institution with a kind of theological seminary.¹¹ Although the Dasatun was administered by the high-ranking clergy, the contemporary Armenian magnates assumed, in the main, its financial support and guaranteed its steady progress. A number of noted artists were invited from Cilicia, Armenia, and Europe to Aleppo, where they practiced their arts under the generous munificence and patronage of the magnates. Its fame also attracted talented young artists who, after obtaining their training in the Dasatun, normally returned to their native homes as master calligraphers or illustrators, while others stayed on to instruct the newcomers.

Throughout the eighteenth century, as in earlier times, the bishopric's prelate was appointed by, and was directly responsible to, the catholicos of Sis. Under his charge were the ecclesiastics, mostly married, who administered the spiritual needs of their special parishes. In addition to the revenues they derived from

the performance of the sacraments, the married priests (*k'ahanas*) also received an annual allotment known as "wheat money," and later "house rent."¹² The instituting of a regularly constituted executive council functioning in collaboration with the prelate is not easy to determine. It is evident, however, that during the incumbency of Archbishop Simon in the last decade of the eighteenth century a group of Aleppine laymen, organized as a council or board of trustees, helped administer the affairs of the church, and also met its financial and other material needs.¹³ During the term of office of Prelate-Bishop Markos (1829-1837) the bishopric's real properties, which constituted an important source of the community's revenue, were under the supervision of a joint clerical and lay body, and were managed by Khōcha Hannē Chabi.¹⁴

The Armenians of Aleppo always sought to maintain the most cordial relations with the other Christian communities, but the fact that their churches were adjacent made occasional friction unavoidable. One such incident occurred between the Armenian and Maronite churches in May 1818. The dispute involved a chamber which was situated above the Maronite church of St. Elijah and adjoined the Armenian church of St. Mary. The Maronites claimed that the chamber, which they used as a triforium, had always belonged to them; the Armenians insisted that it was theirs and that they had rented it to the Maronites in return for an annual compensation of one *gentinar* of olive oil. Conflict arose when the Armenians did not receive the annual payment. In response to the Armenians' appeal to the Porte, Mehmet Khurshid Pasha of Aleppo received an edict from Sultan Mahmut II to the effect that the disputed cell belonged to the Armenians and that the Maronites should forthwith pay the amount of olive oil that was in arrears. Prelate Ermanos Hava of the Maronites immediately submitted the issue to the adjudication of the Muslim court. As the Armenians possessed no documentary evidence to substantiate their claim, the court accepted the oaths of Hava and of a number of local Muslim sheikhs testifying to the Maronites' ownership. The Muslim court at Constantinople upheld this decision, and thus the issue was resolved in favor of the Maronites.¹⁵ A similar controversy between the two communities occurred in 1849.¹⁶

During the incumbency of Prelate-Archbishop Nikoghos Kiu-

lēsēnian (1844–1851) an even more serious controversy between the Armenians and the Maronites was occasioned by the restoration of the two Armenian churches, the prelacy building and its school, the diaconicon, and the cells of the priests. Contemporary accounts assert that the Maronites, jealous of the Armenians, accused them before the pasha of constructing a new church. As this was contrary to Ottoman law, the pasha ruled, without investigation, that the prelacy building should be demolished. Only after bribing the pasha, the mufti, and the servants of the court with some 21,200 piasters were the Armenians able to have the order rescinded. The controversy cost the Armenians a total of 57,096 piasters, which they raised by selling the churches' silver ornaments and vessels.¹⁷

The Armenian Aleppine community had its internal difficulties as well. In consequence of an unspecified dispute with his executive council, Prelate Kiulēsēnian abandoned his office and left Aleppo for Constantinople in 1851. For some four years the bishopric was administered first by vardapet Hakob and then by vardapet Harut'iun, until Kiulēsēnian returned to Aleppo and reassumed his office. In about 1858 there was another disagreement between him and some of the councilors. This time he not only abandoned his office but, together with a group of lay followers, converted to the Catholic faith. The gravity of the situation, and perhaps the fear that the Cilician see would be incapable of solving the crisis, impelled the patriarchate and the central authorities at Constantinople to intervene, while still recognizing the Cilician see's authority over its Aleppine constituency. In 1861 the patriarchate appointed Bishop Hakob Gaghatats'i as metropolitan locum tenens of the bishopric pending the election of a new prelate.¹⁸

In November 1862 a group of Aleppine nationals led by the magnates Hovhannēs K'iurk'jianōf and Petros Kharajian, accused the locum tenens and another priest of corruption. The charge, which was denied by the bishop, prompted a counterpetition to the patriarchate from another segment of the community defending the ecclesiastics involved.¹⁹ This split within the community seems to have been inspired by personal rivalries. This is suggested by the fact that the patriarchate merely urged the bishop to bring about a modus vivendi with the leaders of the opposition. As a matter of fact, Bishop Hakob continued, with the full sup-

port of the patriarchate, to serve his community with vigor and dedication. To him belongs the credit for appointing religious, executive, and economic councils, each charged with specific responsibilities in the administration of the bishopric.²⁰

THE BISHOPRIC'S CONSTITUTIONAL REORGANIZATION, 1865-1918

These developments at Aleppo coincided with, and partially were the products of, the mid-nineteenth century populist-liberal movement within the Armenian millet of the empire, and with the promulgation of the National Constitution at Constantinople. As elsewhere, the vast majority of the Armenian populace in Cilicia was obviously aroused by the constitution's democratic principles, though at first with little understanding or appreciation of its ramifications. The idea of popular emancipation from oligarchic rule inspired many to attach themselves directly to the patriarchate and its constitutional bodies. Within the bishoprics of the Cilician see there were progressive elements which, while desirous of maintaining a weak tie to their own hierarchical see, wished to establish a closer bond with the central authorities in the capital, and to organize their own institutions along the lines of those already established in Constantinople.²¹

The first attempt at applying the constitutional system in the bishopric of Aleppo was made in 1865. Upon instructions from the patriarchate, Bishop Hakob set up the machinery for the election of the provincial assembly in accordance with the provisions of the National Constitution. It soon became apparent, however, that the conservative ecclesiastical and secular elements at Sis were disposed to frustrate the patriarchate's and the bishop's endeavors in that direction. Arguing that a prior understanding should be arrived at between Constantinople and Sis, ostensibly to avoid any possible friction between them, these antiliberal elements prevailed upon the Aleppines to postpone the application of the National Constitution in their bishopric.²²

Reference has already been made to the patriarchate's speedy and successful frustration of the unlawful ordination of Bishop Nikoghos Kiulēsēnian to succeed the deceased Kirakos II Ajapahian as catholicos of Cilicia. The move no doubt underscored the central authorities' determination to eradicate arbitrary methods of government in the Cilician see and to bring the see under

their direct administrative control through the application of the terms of the National Constitution.

Toward the close of 1866 the patriarchate appointed Bishop Mkrtich' Tigranian as metropolitan locum tenens of Aleppo. The bishop was soon elected prelate by the constituency. Also, in an obvious move to facilitate the introduction of the constitutional regime in the Cilician see, the patriarchate effected the merger of the bishoprics of Ayntab, Marash, and Zeytun with the bishopric of Aleppo. It is to be noted, however, that during Tigranian's four-year term of office the affairs of the enlarged bishopric were administered by appointive, rather than constitutionally elected, executive councils.²³

The paucity of documentary evidence precludes determination of the extent of the bishopric of Aleppo prior to this merger, or of the organization of the individual constituencies comprising the rural Armenian population in north and northwestern Syria. These centuries-old settlements extended from the southern slopes of the Taurus mountains to Kasab, with the principal concentration of enclaves at Antioch and its environs, the slopes of the Amanus, Jabals Musa and Aqra, and the towns and villages along the Levantine coast, representing an estimated total of some 35,000 Armenian inhabitants. There is ample evidence, however, that not all of these communities were an integral part of the bishopric of Aleppo. Indeed, as late as the 1830's several of them, such as Kilis, Beylan, and Antioch, had had their own prelates, which suggests that they must have constituted separate, though small, bishoprics.²⁴ A general list of the various constituencies of the Armenian millet in the Ottoman empire, published by the patriarchate of Constantinople in 1864, indicates that Antioch, including Beylan, represented a distinct bishopric, and that the town of Kilis and its environs were within the framework of the prelacy of Aleppo.²⁵

The first indication of the actual scope of the Aleppine bishopric is provided in the report of the ecclesiastic Dawit' Tēr-Dawt'iants' of Aleppo.²⁶ At the behest of the prelate of Aleppo, this cleric spent from January to April 1867 investigating the religious, moral, social, and economic conditions of the widely scattered and isolated Armenian communities throughout the vilayet of Aleppo, a fact which in itself suggests that the boundaries of this political unit also constituted the extent of the bishopric.

The author of this document makes no specific mention of the reasons for the fact-finding trip, but the answer may be gleaned from the contents of the report. In the first place, it is evident that the Aleppine bishopric was gravely concerned about the substantial inroads which Catholic and Protestant missionaries had made in a number of the isolated communities. Secondly, Tēr-Dawt'iants' appears to have been instructed to organize the bishopric's dependent constituencies into specific units in preparation for the application of the constitutional regime throughout the prelacy. This is attested to by the fact that, during his visits to scores of rural communities, he appointed executive committees or parish councils in nine villages, and entrusted to them the responsibility of managing the local religious, community, and educational affairs. Apparently the remaining constituencies already possessed such governing bodies. It is not easy to determine whether these local parish councils were elected by the parishioners or were appointed by either the local priest or the bishopric of Aleppo. Some indication can perhaps be gleaned from another report which asserts that the archimandrite Ep'rem, who arrived at Kasab in 1866 as resident spiritual leader, refused to permit the local community to elect a parish council, and appointed twelve individuals from the upper class, on the grounds that only they were worthy of such honor.²⁷ The practice of popular election of parish councils was perhaps not uncommon in the rural communities as well.

According to Tēr-Dawt'iants' the overall picture of the Armenian rural enclaves in the bishopric of Aleppo, except for a few well-organized communities, was quite bleak. Some of the larger communities had an inadequate number of ecclesiastics; some had married priests but none from the ranks of the more literate celibate clergy; and others had neither churches nor spiritual leaders. Some small village communities had only the rare benefit of visiting clergy, and others had never attended a mass. A number of these settlements had appealed to the prelates of Aleppo for moral, spiritual, and material assistance, but their petitions had remained unheeded. In concluding his report Tēr-Dawt'iants' underscored the urgent need for immediate spiritual and financial aid to the needy communicants, stressing that these people would certainly fall prey to the Catholic and Protestant missionaries, who were all too eager to render them all manner

of material assistance. How soon or to what extent the authorities of the bishopric of Aleppo met the needs of these long neglected populations is not easily determinable.

The election in 1871 of Mkrtich' K'ēfsizian as the first constitutional catholicos of Cilicia, and the subsequent jurisdictional controversy between the patriarchate and K'ēfsizian had serious repercussions in the Cilician bishoprics, including Aleppo. Whereas K'ēfsizian insisted upon his undivided spiritual and administrative authority over his see's constituencies, the patriarchate and the central authorities were equally assertive of their constitutional rights and prerogatives over the same bishoprics. In its efforts to modernize the organizational fabric of the millet's communities throughout the empire along the principles of the National Constitution, the patriarchate constantly sought to dispatch younger, better educated, and abler prelates to the bishoprics. In sharp contrast, K'ēfsizian, who opposed any move that compromised his absolute authority, generally appointed conservative and anticonstitutional ecclesiastics.²⁸ His obstructive countermeasures notwithstanding, K'ēfsizian failed to prevent altogether the gradual introduction of the constitutional form of government into the Cilician bishoprics, many of which voluntarily associated themselves directly with the patriarchate and the executive bodies of the Armenian national assembly.

The Aleppine bishopric's first provincial assembly, whose members were chosen by the free vote of the constituents, was elected during the incumbency of locum tenens archimandrite Hakob Aslanian (1872-1876). This was followed by the assembly's election of the bishopric's first religious and civil councils.²⁹ The religious council consisted of four ecclesiastical members, and the civil council of seven laymen.³⁰ Having been duly confirmed by the patriarchate in accordance with the provisions of the National Constitution, the provincial assembly convened its first session under the presidency of a new locum tenens, the archimandrite Movsēs Kēōmriuk'jian. It comprised a total of nineteen deputies, representing the communities of the original bishopric of Aleppo (that is, excluding the bishoprics of Ayntab, Marash, and Zeytun). To be sure, the representation was weighted heavily in favor of the local Aleppine community, only eight of the nineteen deputies representing the regions of Antioch, Beylan, and Kasab. The assembly approved the draft of a number of regu-

lations prepared by the locum tenens which were designed to form the basis of the bishopric's administrative government. It also resolved to enter into negotiations with the central authorities at the capital respecting the election of the bishopric's prelate and of a deputy to represent the province in the Armenian national assembly at Constantinople. Before these matters were definitively resolved, however, the two-year term of the provincial assembly already had expired.⁸¹ The second provincial assembly was composed of twenty-eight members, comprising four ecclesiastics and twenty-four laymen. Sixteen of these laymen represented the Aleppine community. The remaining eight represented the regions of Antioch, Beylan, and Kasab and the communities of Kilis and Jisr al-Shughr.⁸²

Unfortunately, neither the provincial assembly nor its executive councils could perform their respective functions with any degree of efficacy. To begin with, the members were too accustomed to the traditional oligarchic management of community affairs to adhere to the constitutional principles of parliamentary rule and the plurality of votes as the criterion of legality. Moreover, the disharmony in the ranks of the lay deputies was underscored by the presence in the provincial assembly and the civil council of two rival factions. This was dramatically demonstrated in connection with the bishopric's prelatical election. Contrary to general expectation, the assembly, meeting on June 18, 1878, failed to elect the locum tenens Kēōmriuk'jian. Instead, by a margin of two votes, it elected the feeble Bishop Grigor Tēr-Pōghosian of Arapkir-Edirne, then in his dotage. When the assembly met again on June 25, not only did the chairman move to declare the "irregular" election null and void on the grounds that the secret balloting was conducted in a disorderly manner, but some five hundred local Armenians congregated in the church to voice their indignant protest against the injustice meted out to the popular locum tenens. In consequence of these pressures the assembly held a new election and chose Kēōmriuk'jian by unanimous vote. The incessant bickering of the community's principal lay leaders with the prelate prevented a harmonious administration, however, and eventually he was compelled to withdraw from Aleppo.⁸³

Significantly enough, the third provincial assembly, elected in 1880, did not include the leaders of the two rival lay factions.

Its twenty-one members comprised three ecclesiastics and eighteen laymen, twelve representing Aleppo and six from the other rural communities. Equally important is the fact that the communities of Ayntab, Marash, and Zeytun also were not represented in the new provincial assembly. Whether their separation from the bishopric of Aleppo was effected with the consent of the patriarchate is unknown. Be that as it may, it is known that in 1880 the patriarchate officially reaffirmed the merger of the bishopric of Ayntab with Aleppo. However, whereas the local community at Ayntab generally acquiesced in the patriarchate's decision, the well-to-do and to some extent the intellectual classes opposed the subordination of their constituency to Aleppo. Hence, for all practical purposes Aleppo's jurisdiction over Ayntab remained nominal.⁸⁴ Moreover, in about 1888, a jurisdictional controversy between the bishopric of Aleppo and the parish council of Antioch exacerbated their relations. This is evidenced by the fact that, contrary to the patriarchate's firm assertion that the bishopric's authority extended over the constituency of Antioch, the latter failed to send its deputies to the provincial assembly.⁸⁵

As in the past so in the second half of the nineteenth century, the special significance of the bishopric of Aleppo stemmed from the unique position which the city occupied as an important political, commercial, and ecclesiastical center. As the episcopal seat coincided with the provincial center of the expansive vilayet of Aleppo, the bishopric was directly responsible to the local government not only for the communities of Aleppo and of north and northwestern Syria, but also for a large number of Armenians attached to other bishoprics of the Cilician see. Matters of immediate urgency affecting the ecclesiastical and civil life of these communities therefore were handled by the bishopric and its prelate. Resolution of issues of secondary importance would immeasurably lessen the burdens of the patriarchate, of course. An especially strong administrative organization of the bishopric was also imperative in view of the presence of a large number of foreign diplomatic representatives and other powerful Christian communities in Aleppo.

The constitutional form of government had become an established feature in the Aleppine bishopric from the 1870's onwards. Yet, despite the mechanism which the constitution provided, the administration seldom functioned in an orderly manner. Not un-

like several other Cilician bishoprics, it was administratively linked to the patriarchate and its governing bodies, which guided the general direction of its affairs. At the behest of the Aleppine provincial assembly, the patriarchate normally appointed the *locum tenentes*, some of whom subsequently were elected prelates of the bishopric. As we have seen, however, Catholicos K'ëfsizian's constant wrangles with the central authorities did much to obstruct the patriarchate's efforts to improve the bishopric's administrative, spiritual, and educational facilities through the appointment of competent church leaders. The frequent vacancy of the prelatial office, occasioned by periodic resignations or removals, generally left the bishopric in the hands of *locum tenentes*, who of course could never command as much respect and authority as an elected prelate. This was especially serious in view of the fact that the other Christian communities almost always had high-ranking church dignitaries as spiritual and administrative leaders. Moreover, toward the close of the nineteenth century, when the so-called Armenian Question gravely exacerbated the millet's relations with the Porte, several of the Armenian prelates and their subordinates were handicapped in the performance of their functions as a result of the government's increasing hostility and suspicions of political disloyalty. In this period a number of ecclesiastics were arrested, imprisoned, banished, and even executed.³⁶

The principal internal problems were the general popular misconception of the constitutional system, and factional ambitions and personal rivalries. Too often the principal cause of friction involved the management of the bishopric's revenues, derived primarily from its real properties, with which the needs of the ecclesiastical institutions and the parochial schools were met. Not only did opposing secular factions constantly vie with one another for control of the community's finances, but sometimes the situation was further complicated by the tendency of certain prelates or *locum tenentes* to manage the fiscal administration completely independently of them. Another factor accounting for the frequent communal discord emanated, perhaps, from the ever changing character of the community itself. The periodic influx of Armenian migrants from other provinces affected the homogeneity of the community, particularly since the newcomers, by virtue of their different backgrounds, usually held views on

ecclesiastical and national affairs which were at variance with those held by the generally commercially minded Aleppines. These differences of outlook and partisan interests were doubtless reflected in both the Aleppine provincial assembly and executive councils which emanated from it.³⁷

Subsequent to the organization of the constitutional system, the bishopric of Aleppo undoubtedly sought to meet the needs of the prosperous Aleppine community and of neighboring and remote rural Armenian enclaves. In the main, village priests continued to attend to the communicants' spiritual needs; frequently visiting clergy were dispatched to regions where there were no resident priests; and school teachers were supplied wherever educational facilities existed. Despite these efforts, however, the community organizations in isolated rural regions remained, for the most part, far from satisfactory. The frequent dissensions within the governing bodies of the bishopric were hardly conducive to the creation of an organization and administration which could function effectively in an expansive area. This was all the more serious inasmuch as the rural communities depended, to a large extent, upon the metropolitan authorities' guidance and material assistance. Perhaps the gravest factor of all was the inadequate number of resident and visiting clergy.³⁸ These conditions explain why some areas became increasingly vulnerable to the Catholic and Protestant missionaries' proselytism.

CHAPTER XI

The Armenian Question and Its Impact on the Syrian Communities

UNTIL THE BEGINNING of the nineteenth century, historic Armenia was divided between Turkey and Persia. As a result of the Russo-Persian War of 1826-27 and the Russo-Turkish War of 1828-29, Russia took over a portion of Turkish Armenia and a larger segment of Persian Armenia. Armenia was thus divided into three unequal parts, Turkey holding the most important and largest part, with the greatest number of Armenians as its subjects.

Until the inception of the Turco-Armenian agitations in the second half of the nineteenth century, "the Armenians [were] of all the nations subject to the Porte, the one which [had] most interests in common with the Turks and [were] the most directly interested in preserving them."¹ In the official Ottoman texts the Armenians, particularly in comparison with the Greeks and Macedonians, were frequently termed "the loyal nation" (*millet-i sadika*).

Nevertheless, like the other rayas (Ottoman non-Muslim subjects) of the sultan, the Armenians labored under severe legal disabilities and discriminations, which were rooted in the Islamic concept of society. The followers of non-Muslim creeds were placed outside of Muslim law. The native Christian of the empire, especially in the eastern provinces, was excluded from military service and barred from responsible government office. Unlike his nomadic Kurdish and Circassian neighbors, he was forbidden to bear arms and was therefore exposed to the unlawful aggressions of the nomads. Since his testimony was not admissible in courts of law, he had no hope of legal recourse. Under these

disabilities, therefore, the Armenians were not only inferior beings in the eyes of the authorities but a prey to unruly neighbors.

Moreover, Christians were subjected to an unequal and corrupt tax system. In addition to the abuses we have seen above, Armenians bore two most objectionable impositions. Kurdish tribal chiefs and other nomadic Kurds claimed, as a seemingly prescriptive right, free winter quarters (*kishlak*) in Armenian homes — an imposition which was the most obnoxious and difficult to endure. Secondly, Armenians were obliged to provide free lodgings and food for three days a year to government officials. In the course of these depredations life, property, and family honor were always in jeopardy, and officials often joined with powerful Kurdish chiefs in the victimization of Armenian peasantry, which for the most part did not try to fight back.

THE ARMENIAN QUESTION

Centuries of servitude and tyranny had made the Armenians of the eastern provinces servile, submissive, and timid. When in the first half of the nineteenth century the Serbs, Greeks, Bulgarians, Egyptians, and even the Kurds staged revolts — and some eventually cast off the Ottoman yoke — the Armenians remained the most pacific of all ethnic elements in the empire. Nevertheless, the same forces that were at work among all these oppressed peoples were also to rouse the Armenians. The ensuing struggle for amelioration of their plight in the eastern provinces and its entanglement with international diplomacy, therefore, produced the so-called Armenian Question.

In 1869, under the direction of Patriarch Mkrtich' Khrimian, the authorities of the millet at Constantinople made the first systematic inquiries into the conditions of the Armenians in the provinces. In 1872 the Armenian national assembly presented to the Porte a petition requesting specific reforms, but the Ottoman authorities failed to redress the Armenians' grievances. During the sessions of the conference of European powers at Constantinople in the winter of 1876-77, convened to discuss reforms with the ultimate goal of eliminating legal discriminations against the Christians of the Ottoman empire, the Turks set fire to the Armenian quarter of the city of Van, and the property of the Armenian merchants was plundered by the soldiers and the police.

When the Russians declared war on Turkey in April 1877 and marched into the Armenian provinces, the Turks suspected that such an easy advance was only possible through the complicity, if not with the open cooperation, of the Armenians. The presence of some Russian Armenian generals in the tsarist army also aroused the wrath of the defeated Turks. As a result hordes of Kurds and Circassians were let loose upon the Armenian villages near the border and there were wholesale massacres.

Contrary to the pledges made by Russia, Article 16 of the Turco-Russian Peace Treaty signed at San Stefano on March 3, 1878, did not provide for self-government of the Armenian districts, but simply engaged the Porte to undertake without delay the reforms demanded by local needs and to guarantee the Armenians' security against the Kurds and Circassians. As the treaty aroused British apprehensions of further tsarist advance in eastern Turkey, Russia finally consented to submit it to a European congress. The Armenians, who felt that they might secure more favorable terms than those in Article 16, sent a delegation headed by former Patriarch Khrimian to tour European capitals. Nevertheless, none of their proposed reforms for Turkish Armenia was included in the Treaty of Berlin of July 13, 1878. Article 61 of the new document simply revived Article 16 of San Stefano, with the additional proviso that the Turkish government should report periodically to the European powers what measures had been taken, and the European powers should supervise their application. In effect, therefore, the Armenians lost much of what they had already obtained at San Stefano, for the only guarantee that the congress was willing to give was the collective guarantee which, in view of the mutual distrust and divergent policies of the European powers respecting the Eastern Question, was in effect meaningless.

As a result of these developments, the Armenian Question became entangled with European diplomacy. It was complicated by the fact that the Turkish government's policies could not be changed by international treaties; the European powers could not afford to go to war to secure reforms; and the prodding of Sultan Abdul Hamid II resulted only in arousing him to take revenge on the Armenians. In view of these circumstances, the Armenians became convinced that without struggle and insurrection their plight could not be ameliorated. There was talk of

following the example of the Bulgarian revolt. If Bulgaria could be freed by Russian intervention Armenia might be freed with British help. Early in the 1880's, however, the British, realizing the difficulty of persuading the Turks as well as certain European governments of the compelling necessity of reforms, abandoned its almost single-handed efforts. In consequence, the Armenian Question was left in abeyance; a decade later it came to the fore again as an acute international problem.

In this interval Armenian nationalism took stronger hold as a result of a cultural renaissance which began to transform the traditional concepts of Armenian society. Among the contributing factors were the millet's adoption of the liberal-democratic National Constitution; the unprecedented progress of the Armenian press; the establishment of a network of parochial schools throughout the empire; the gradual secularization of Armenian literature with special emphasis on patriotism; and the impact of American missionaries, who brought with them the ingrained principles of liberty, equality, and justice.

When it became clear that they could not rely on international assistance in their drive for freedom, younger Armenian intellectuals began to talk of revolt. The first two revolutionary groups, founded in the early 1880's, aimed at organizing self-defense units and at introducing reforms through peaceful means. Two other radical parties, the *Henchak*, founded at Geneva in 1886, and the *Dashnakts'ut'iun*, organized at Tiflis in 1890, sought to achieve the political freedom of Turkish Armenia by terrorizing government officials and by enlisting European intervention. However, the zealous but inexperienced leaders of these groups were either unmindful of or at best minimized the difficulties attending the peculiar situation of the Armenians in the eastern provinces, and placed undue reliance upon the presumed benevolence of the Concert of Europe. In any event, the Armenian determination to fight was apparent as early as 1890 and continued for several years. In nearly all instances of terrorism innocent people by the tens of thousands were the victims.

The revolutionaries gave Abdul Hamid and the Porte ample reason for apprehension. The Ottomans felt that their empire was threatened by the Armenians, who were suspected of being in league with the Young Turks, Greeks, Macedonians, and others. Abdul Hamid reacted by forming the *Hamidiyeh* regiments, com-

posed mainly of Kurdish cavalry troops, to deal with incipient uprisings. These regiments assaulted and plundered Armenian villages with absolute impunity. The first large-scale suppression of Armenians took place at Sasun in the province of Bitlis in July 1894, resulting in the destruction of twenty-five villages and the massacre of some twenty thousand individuals. The slaughter of approximately ten thousand Armenians at Constantinople in September 1895 served as the prelude to similar bloodshed all over the empire, particularly in eastern Anatolia, culminating in wholesale pogroms which took a heavy toll of Armenian lives. The abortive seizure of the Ottoman Bank at Constantinople by a band of revolutionaries on August 26, 1896, brought on a second massacre in the capital, followed by similar atrocities at other points. According to conservative estimates at least two hundred thousand Armenians lost their lives in the course of three years (1894-1896), and more than half a million were robbed of their possessions and made homeless.

The Porte refused to admit that these massacres had taken place, contending that they had successfully suppressed an Armenian revolution, but consular reports amply confirmed the Turkish atrocities. Nevertheless the European powers did not seriously undertake the task of trying to induce Sultan Abdul Hamid to carry out his treaty obligations. Several months after the incident of Sasun, Britain, France, and Russia finally agreed on a modest program of reforms, but the differences between Britain and the Franco-Russian alliance became quite apparent. So long as these conflicting views persisted and the powers could not agree on the use of force to effect reforms, Abdul Hamid temporized about accepting their proposals. When the powers, subsequent to the large-scale massacres, finally brought pressure to bear, the sultan issued a proclamation sanctioning the reforms but in a short time ordered more and greater massacres. In February 1897 the powers agreed on another scheme of reforms, but in view of the new Cretan crisis it was never even submitted to the Porte.

The Armenian revolutionaries continued their efforts to organize a general revolt in conjunction with Greeks, Macedonians, and others. These efforts were directed mainly at forcing further European intervention, but the Western powers had become convinced that the more vigorously they interfered the worse the Turkish reprisals became; indeed, so long as the reform question

had been shelved the Ottomans' punitive measures were called off.²

THE MASSACRES IN CILICIA AND NORTHERN SYRIA (1909)

The Young Turk Revolution in 1908 and the promulgation by its seemingly progressive and liberal leaders of the Turkish Constitution appeared to herald the dawn of a new and bright era for the Turks as well as their subject minorities. The Armenian revolution came to a dramatic halt and Armenians everywhere joined in the jubilant celebrations which marked the end of Hamidian tyranny and bloodshed. It was generally hoped that a Young Turk-Armenian rapprochement would result in the favorable resolution of the Armenian Question. This optimism was short-lived. The completely unexpected massacre of Armenians in Cilicia and north Syria in April 1909 confirmed that the Young Turk policy did not differ from that of the previous regime.

During the pogroms of 1895-96 the Armenians in the province of Adana, which encompassed most of Cilicia, and the Ottoman territories of Syria had been spared the fortunes meted out to their fellow nationals in Asia Minor. But the atrocities of 1909, confined to the Armenians of Cilicia and to the regions south of it, far surpassed in ferocity those perpetrated earlier in Anatolia. It is certain that the relative prosperity of the Armenians of Cilicia, the activities of the revolutionaries in the region, and the general jubilation of the Armenian population over the establishment of the new Turkish constitutional regime had incited the hostility of the local Turks, whether Hamidian or Young Turk, against the growing spirit of Armenian nationalism.

The Cilician massacres³ began at Adana on the night of March 31, 1909, when Turkish armed mobs, in connivance with the local authorities, attacked the Armenian population. As soon as news of this violent action reached Constantinople, the European ambassadors made strong representations to the Porte, and the British, Russian, French, German, Italian, and United States governments immediately dispatched a total of eight battleships to the Cilician port of Mersin. On April 2, by the peremptory orders of the Turkish government, the bloodshed at Adana stopped but the mobs spread their atrocities against the defenseless Armenians throughout the province. Moreover, a Turkish battalion of

regular troops, brought to Adana from Macedonia ostensibly to restore order in Cilicia, joined hands with the irregulars in completing the destruction and plundering of the town's Armenian population. This second and more violent massacre lasted from the arrival of the troops on April 12 until April 14. The pogrom in the province of Adana took a toll of about thirty thousand Armenian lives, mostly male. Thirty-seven towns and villages, fifty churches and schools, and more than five thousand houses and shops were destroyed.

The violence was not confined to the province of Adana alone; rather, it spread to the communities in the Amanus, the valley of the Orontes, Jabal Musa, and Jabal Aqra, as well as Aleppo. The Armenians of Aleppo suffered the loss of 368 lives.⁴ In the Amanus, the majority of the male Armenians were slain in the towns and villages of Osmaniyyah, Hamidiyyah, Bahché, Hasanbeyli, Lapajli, Kharni, Gökchayir, Yanikdeyirmen, Koyouk, Entilli, and Ekbez. At Antioch, contrary to the solemn assurances of the district governor that no harm would come to the Armenians of the city if they surrendered their arms, local Turkish mobs massacred approximately five hundred, comprising about half the number of the community. When survivors fled to the nearby mountains, their homes and shops were ransacked and burned.⁵

According to the eyewitness account of Father Sabattino, the abbot of the Latin monastery at Kasab,⁶ on April 23, 1909, some thirty thousand Turkish irregulars from the region of Antioch set fire to the Armenian villages of Kayajik, Eski-Ören, and Chinarjik, and then marched toward the populous Armenian town of Kasab. The armed resistance of a band of three hundred Armenian youths on the outskirts of the town slowed down the Turkish advance, permitting the population of Kasab to retreat to the mountains near the coastal Armenian village of Karaduran. After killing some 160 Armenians who had remained behind, the Turks looted and destroyed the town, burning the churches and schools.

The saga of the townsfolk and villagers who had retreated to the mountains is described by Sabattino who, likewise having been compelled to abandon his monastery, assumed their leadership. The refugees were first led toward Latakia, but upon their arrival in the first Turkish village they were looted of their possessions. Fearful that the Turkish mobs which had ransacked Kasab might attempt to massacre these refugees, Sabattino left

them at the relatively secure coastal village of Basit, and accompanied by six men he hurried to Latakia to make arrangements for their immediate rescue. Thanks to his efforts, about six thousand Armenian refugees from Kasab and the villages of Bagh-jaghaz, Chinarjik, Karaduran, Eski-Ören, Kayajik, and Ekiz-Oluk, who had assembled at Basit, were transported to Latakia on the French ships *Jules Ferry* and *Niger*. They not only were given shelter by the local Armenian and Latin monasteries, but also enjoyed the timely protection of the local Turkish governor, Mehmet Ali Bey. Apprehensive of the spread of an epidemic, the governor, in cooperation with the local French consul, arranged to have the refugees transported to safer regions.⁷

Meanwhile, however, Turkish regular troops from Aleppo had completed the looting of Kasab and neighboring villages, while the irregulars who had been there earlier marched north to the village of Kheder-Bek in the region of Jabal Musa, the habitat of a sizable Armenian population. In anticipation of the assault, the male Armenians of Kheder-Bek made preparations for self-defense, while the women and children were given shelter by Père André in the local French monastery. The opportune arrival of the British battleship *Triumph* induced the Turkish irregulars to retreat forthwith to Antioch, but en route they set fire to the homes abandoned by the Armenians and put to death at least 150 peasants who had been working on the lands of Turkish aghas in the plain of Antioch.⁸ As a direct result of the pogroms, the exclusively Armenian-inhabited villages of Kabusiyah, Yoghun-Oluk, Kheder-Bek, Vakif, Bityas, and Haji Habibli in the region of Jabal Musa came to have a total of 340 widows and 222 orphans.⁹

At Antioch, in the meantime, the American missionary Reverend Martin, the British vice-consul Douvek, the Mission des Capucins, and the Soeurs de l'Apparition had done everything within their means to alleviate the plight of the surviving Armenians, and the French consul Potton had extended his government's protection to the local Armenian community.¹⁰ Furthermore, the crew of the French cruiser *Victor Hugo*, which had arrived in the region of Kheder-Bek, distributed provisions to the beleaguered Armenian population.¹¹

The atrocities came to a halt at the end of April 1909, leaving in their wake the massive task of rehabilitating survivors. In the gigantic effort of feeding, clothing, and housing the thousands

of victims, reconstructing homes and religious and educational institutions, and restoring pillaged businesses, the Armenian authorities were assisted by international philanthropic and humanitarian organizations. Orphanages were founded at Mersin, Adana, Hajin, Dört Yol, Hasanbeyli, Ayntab, and Marash. Even the Turkish parliament voted an outright grant-in-aid of 100,000 liras, a five-year annual allocation of 10,000 liras for the care of women and orphans, and a credit of 50,000 liras to Armenian merchants.¹² The Turkish government also provided material assistance in the rehabilitation and economic recovery of the Armenian communities in the regions of Antioch and Kasab which had suffered most at the hands of the local Turks.¹³

In its ostensible attempts to determine the responsibility for the massacres, the Young Turk administration dispatched a military tribunal to Adana, which in turn set up regional courts at Erzin and Antioch. It soon became apparent, however, that these tribunals were instructed not to apprehend and punish the guilty, but to prove that a grave armed rebellion by the Armenians had provoked the violent retaliation of the Turks. In consequence twelve innocent Armenians from Adana and Hajin received death sentences and forty-four were imprisoned. Some fifty Turks received death sentences, but only twenty were actually executed, and the principal perpetrators of the crimes were left unpunished.

The tribunals' convictions met with much criticism, and the Turkish parliament, which debated the issue, was eventually impelled to appoint a special investigative commission, composed of the deputies Yusuf Kemal and Hakob Papikian, to ascertain the facts. The executive branch of the government appointed another commission, composed of Faik Bey, Harut'un Mostich'ian, and Esat Bey, the governor of Mersin, to conduct an independent enquiry on the spot. The official reports of the two commissions confirmed the innocence of the Armenians, and the indictments against the actual perpetrators of the crimes were submitted to the legislative and executive branches of the government. Nevertheless, no action was taken by the Turkish authorities. And one of the commissioners, Hakob Papikian, met his death under mysterious circumstances. The episode was finally closed on July 31, 1909, when the grand vizier officially proclaimed the innocence of the Armenians and confirmed their loyalty to the Ottoman state.¹⁴

TURKISH POLICY OF ARMENIAN GENOCIDE IN WORLD WAR I

At a conference held at London in the summer of 1913, Russia, with the concurrence of the other great powers, proposed a scheme of reforms for the Armenian provinces of Turkey. This plan, which was imposed on Turkey in February 1914, provided for the appointment of two European inspectors-general, the one to supervise the provinces of Erzurum, Trebizond, and Sivas, and the other those of Van, Bitlis, Harput, and Diyarbekir. Before the arrival of these appointees at their posts, however, the First World War broke out, and at the end of August 1914 Turkey entered the conflagration on the side of the Central Powers.

In the winter of 1914-15 the Turks suffered a crushing defeat at Sarikamish, on the Caucasian front, and Enver Pasha, Turkish commander and minister of war, accused the Armenians of complicity with the Russian forces. Subsequent to the Allied fleets' failure to occupy the Dardanelles in March 1915, therefore, the Young Turk government resolved to settle once and for all the irksome Armenian problem in Turkey. The policy of exterminating the Armenians, on the grounds of their alleged threat to the vital interests of the empire because of their sympathy with Russia, Britain, and other Allied Powers, was carried out systematically and with brutality. The liquidation of the millet's ecclesiastical, secular, and intellectual leaders in April 1915, and the pillaging of more than five hundred Armenian villages and the slaying of some twenty-five thousand of their inhabitants were but a prelude to the implementation of the Turkish scheme of genocide. A general order for the deportation of all Armenians, issued by the minister of the interior, Talaat Pasha, on May 20, not only advised all provincial governors of the government's policy of annihilating the Armenians, but also instructed them to carry out the program indiscriminately and without scruples. The measures employed in the enforcement of this objective are too well known to be reiterated here. Suffice it to say that the Turks took full advantage of the conditions of war to deal the Armenian people the greatest blow in their long and turbulent history. Almost their entire assets in Turkey were confiscated, their ecclesiastical and national institutions were destroyed, and upwards of a million Armenians met violent death. Many thousands were forced to

accept Islam, and those who survived the mass slaughter were compelled to seek refuge in other lands.¹⁵

The Ottoman territories of Syria became the last station for countless thousands of Armenians deported from their homes in Asia Minor and Cilicia. Many were forced to march under Turkish bayonets to the regions of Aleppo, Hama and Homs, and an indeterminate number ended up in Dayr al-Zur in the Syrian desert, where they died of starvation or were slain.

The indigenous Armenian population of Syria suffered the same fate meted out to their compatriots. In the beginning of 1915 the Turkish governor of the district of Antioch, Maaruf, informed the local Armenians of the government's decision regarding their deportation. Before they could complete plans for armed resistance the Armenians of Antioch and the valley of Orontes were rounded up and dispatched to Hama.¹⁶ Ostensibly to secure the strategic Levantine coast the Turkish authorities proceeded to evacuate the Armenians of Kasab and its surrounding villages. In spite of the urgings of an Armenian delegation from Jabal Musa, the leaders of the community at Kasab refused to join forces in armed resistance. Their failure to accede to the suggestion can be attributed, first, to the Turkish authorities' successful efforts at thwarting a possible insurrection by sowing the seeds of discord among the community leaders; and, second, to the assurances given by the German missionary Herter, who directed an orphanage at Kasab, to the large Armenian Protestant community there that they would not be deported.¹⁷ Be that as it may, the entire Armenian population of the region was driven to the interior, notably to Hama, Homs, Aleppo, and Dayr al-Zur, and their properties were confiscated.¹⁸ The pogroms also affected the community at Latakia and its environs. In November 1915 the local Armenian monastery and its properties were forcibly occupied by the gendarmerie; and within forty-eight hours the entire community of Latakia was deported to Aleppo, and their properties and possessions were confiscated.¹⁹

Among the Armenian communities of north Syria, only those of Jabal Musa resolved to offer armed resistance to the Turks rather than submit to forced deportation and ultimate annihilation. Equipped with an inadequate supply of arms and munitions, some eight hundred young fighters succeeded, for over a month, in defending their mountain fastnesses against a Turkish army esti-

mated at forty thousand regulars and irregulars — a saga which Franz Werfel has immortalized in his novel *The Forty Days of Musa Dagh*. The timely arrival of a French ship at Suwaydiyah, at a time when these heroic defenders and their families were surrounded on all sides by Turkish troops, rescued them from imminent annihilation. Approximately six thousand Armenians of Jabal Musa were transported to Port Said on French ships in September 1915.²⁰

For some unknown reason, the small Armenian communities in Palestine and Lebanon were not subjected to the Turkish policy of deportation and massacre. At Beirut, however, with the outbreak of war Armenian officials in the local government were banished to Damascus, where many were put to death; and a group of Armenians accused of engaging in revolutionary activities was summarily executed. The monastery of St. Nshan and its adjacent properties belonging to the national church were confiscated and later demolished. And the merchandise of Armenian traders was arbitrarily appropriated by the government.²¹

It is significant that the Armenians contributed, albeit on a small scale, to the Allied military campaign against Turkey. Some eight thousand young men, including the survivors of Musa Dagh as well as volunteers from the communities in the United States and elsewhere, formed the "Armenian Legion," which distinguished itself in battles in Palestine and northwestern Syria. This military effort was not motivated merely by a desire to avenge the Turkish atrocities; rather, it was also inspired by an Allied, particularly French, promise of freedom for Cilicia as an Armenian state. Subsequent to the Anglo-French occupation of Syria and Cilicia, therefore, thousands of Armenians who had survived the deportations and massacres returned to their native lands, and with the material assistance of Armenian, European, and American philanthropic organizations set about restoring their shattered homes and businesses. The relatively fortunate Armenians of Musa Dagh returned to their villages; but out of the estimated total of 8000 individuals deported from the region of Kasab only about 2300 survivors were able to return.

While the restoration of the peace in these territories enabled the hapless Armenians to proceed with the work of rehabilitation, the French authorities in Cilicia followed a policy of vacillation. On the one hand they armed the Armenians against the newly

emerging Turkish nationalists under Kemal Atatürk, and on the other they disarmed them and abandoned them to wholesale massacres. In February 1920 at least 20,000 Armenians were massacred at Marash, and in October of the same year 10,000 more were killed at Hajin. Finally the French statesman Franklin-Bouillon concluded an agreement with Turkey at Ankara on October 20, 1921, whereby France agreed, in return for certain Turkish concessions, to the evacuation of Cilicia.²² This separate agreement, which was arrived at unbeknownst to the other Allied Powers, dealt a grievous blow to the Armenians of Cilicia, who felt France had betrayed their political aspirations in the region by tacitly renouncing her pledges to the Armenian leaders. When the French evacuated Cilicia in January 1922, the entire Armenian population had no other recourse but to abandon their homes, and many thousands sought refuge in Syria, Lebanon, and Palestine.²³

The Armenians' associations with Cilicia, which had lasted well over a millennium, thus came to a dramatic end. With the influx of thousands of Armenians into historic Syria, on the other hand, the fortunes of the equally old communities in this general area entered into a new phase.

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ABBREVIATIONS USED IN NOTES

AA	<i>Arshaloys Araratean</i>
HA	<i>Handes Amsorya</i>
RHC	<i>Recueil des historiens des croisades</i>
ZDPV	<i>Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins</i>

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Notes

I. The Armenians in Cilicia and Syria before the Ottomans

1. There is a vast amount of literature in Armenian dealing with specific colonies. Some of these works are examined in my bibliographical study "Armenian Works on Historic and Modern Communities" in *Report on Current Research on the Middle East*, 1958 (Middle East Institute, Washington, D.C., 1958), pp. 47-54. Arshak Alpöyajian's *Patmut'yun Hay Gaght'akanut'ean*, 3 vols. (Cairo, 1941-1961), is the only attempt at a comprehensive history of the Armenian colonies, both ancient and modern, dispersed throughout the world. This unique work has serious shortcomings but it is broadly conceived, contains a wealth of information, and lays the groundwork for future historians of the Armenian Diaspora.

2. For a discussion of Armenia under Achaemenid rule, see Hakob Manandyan, *K'nnakan Tesut'yun Hay Zhoghovrdi Patmut'yan*, 3 vols. (Erevan, 1945-1957), I, 46-60.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 56. Cf. A. T. Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire* (Phoenix Books Edition, Chicago, 1960), pp. 515-516.

4. Armeno-Seleucid relations are discussed in Manandyan, *K'nnakan Tesut'yun*, I, 86-113.

5. See J. Laurent, *Arménie entre Byzance et l'Islam, depuis la conquête arabe jusqu'en 886* (*Bibliothèque des Ecoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*, CXVII, Paris, 1919), p. 301; H. Hübschmann, *Hin Hayots' Teghwoy Anunneré*, trans. from German into Armenian by B. Pilëzikjian (Vienna, 1907), p. 26.

6. Consult Manandyan, *K'nnakan Tesut'yun*, I, 114-135, for the history of these two Armenian kingdoms.

7. The military exploits of Tigranes the Great are presented in *ibid.*, I, 136-244. A comprehensive bibliography of his reign will be found on pp. 368-375 of the same work. Among the original sources consult, in particular, Strabonis, *Geographica*, ed. A. Meineke, 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1915-1925); Appiani Alexandrini, *Historia Roma*, ed. L. Mendelssohn, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1879-1881); Justini Juniani, *Epitoma historiarum Philippicarum Pompeii Trogi*, ed. F. Rühl (Leipzig, 1915).

8. For Tigranes' military conflicts with and eventual defeat at the hands of the Romans see the important monographic study by H. Manandyan, *Tigran II ew Hrhomë, Nor Lusabanut'yamb ëst Skzbnaghbyurneri* (Erevan, 1940). Consult also H. Y. Asturian, *Kaghak'akan Veraberut'iunner ëndmëj Hayastani ew Hrhoomay 190-ën N. K. minch'ew 428 H. K.* (Venice, 1912); K. Güterbock, "Romisch-Armenien im 4.-6. Jahrh.," in *Schirmer Festschrift*

(Königsberg, 1900), which has an Armenian trans., *Hrhomēakan Hayastan ew Hrhomēakan Satraput'unnerē IV-VI Darerum* (Vienna, 1914).

9. For Parthian-Armenian relations consult N. K'aramian, *Part'ewnerē Parkastanum ew Nrants' Haraberut'unnerē Hayots' Het* (Vagarshapat, 1897).

10. For the eyewitness account of the battle of Awarayr see the critical edition by E. Tēr-Minasian, *Eghishēi Vasn Vardanay ew Hayots' Paterazmin* (Erevan, 1957). A comprehensive bibliography of the various editions and translations of the text and of the secondary source materials, compiled by H. S. Anasyan, will be found on pp. 204-219. Another interesting work that must be consulted is P. J. Mécérian, "Bilan des relations arméno-iraniennes au V^e siècle après J.-C." in *Mélanges de l'Université Saint Joseph de Beyrouth*, vol. 30 (*Bulletin arménologique*, 2nd cahier, Beirut, 1953), pp. 67-98.

11. Regarding the settlement of Armenians in Byzantine territory consult: Grousset, *Histoire de l'Arménie*, pp. 488-489, 511, 522; K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte byzantinischen Literatur von Justinian bis zum ende oströmischen reiches (527-1453)* (2d ed., Munich, 1897), pp. 1068-1069; Alexander A. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, 2 vols. (*Corpus bruxellense historiae byzantinae*, Brussels, 1935-1950); Franz Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches* (Munich, Berlin, 1924-1932); Sirarpie Der Nersessian, *Armenia and the Byzantine Empire* (Cambridge, Mass., 2d printing, 1947), pp. 6-28. See also H. Grégoire, "Mélias le Magistre," in *Byzantion*, 8 (1933): 79-88; N. Adontz and H. Grégoire, "Nicéphore au cole roide," *ibid.*, pp. 203-212; also the following articles by Adontz: "Les Taronites en Arménie et à Byzance," *ibid.*, 9 (1934): 715-738, 10 (1935): 531-551, 11 (1936): 21-42; "Observations sur la généalogie des Taronites," *ibid.*, 14 (1939): 407-413; "Notes arméno-byzantines," *ibid.*, 9 (1934): 367-382, 10 (1935): 161-203; "Ašot de Fer," in *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales Bruxelles*, vol. 3 (1935); "Tornik le Moine," in *Byzantion*, 13 (1938): 143-164.

12. A. Couret, *La Palestine sous les empereurs grecs* (Grenoble, 1869), p. 212.

13. F. Lagrange, *Lettres choisies de S. Jérôme*, p. 160, as cited in Mkrtich' Aghawnuni, *Haykakan Hin Vank'er ew Ekeghets'iner Surb Erkrin mēj* (Jerusalem, 1931), pp. 363-364.

The more peaceful period which marked the reign of Emperor Constantine and his immediate successors was followed by an era of theological and hierarchical disputes. Insofar as the Christians of Jerusalem were concerned, this resulted in their freedom from the suzerainty of the ecclesiastical authorities at Caesarea in Palestine. At the Council of Chalcedon the bishopric of Jerusalem was recognized as an independent patriarchate, comprising Palestine Prima, Secunda, and Tertia. For the founding of this patriarchate, as well as of the other Christian sees, consult the authoritative study of F. Dvornik, *The Idea of the Apostolicity in Byzantium and the Legend of the Apostle Andrew* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958). See also Dvornik's valuable work *The Ecumenical Councils* (New York, 1961).

14. A complete bibliography of Anastas' text, which has variant ver-

sions, will be found in H. S. Anasyan, *Haykakan Matenagitut'yun*, V–XVIII DD., I (Erevan, 1959), 826–827. Among the principal sources consult: Ghewond M. Alishan, *Hayapatum*, II (Venice, 1901–1902), 227–229; Astuatsatur Tēr-Hovhannēsians', *Zhamanakagrakan Patmut'iun S. Erusaghēmi*, 2 vols. (Jerusalem, 1890), I, 87–97; Tigran H. T'. Sawalanians', *Patmut'iun Erusaghēmi*, trans. from unpublished classical original into modern Armenian by Mesrop Nshanian, 2 vols. (Jerusalem, 1931), I, 243–247, with some variant readings and annotations. Alishan also has two translations in French: "Anastase d'Arménie (VII^e siècle); les LXX couvents arméniens de Jérusalem" in *Archives de l'Orient latin*, II (1884), 395–399; and "Anastase d'Arménie (VII^e siècle); les LXX couvents arméniens de Jérusalem" in *Vasn Vanorēits' or i surb K'aghak'n Herusaghēm* (Venice, 1896), pp. 25–35. For a bibliography of the literature on Anastas' text, consult Anasyan, *Haykakan Matenagitut'yun*, I, 828–829. Among these see in particular, Garegin Zarbhanalian, *Haykakan Hin Dprut'ean Patmut'iun*, IV–XIII Dar, 3d ed. (Venice, 1897), pp. 229–230; Ghukas Inchichian, *Hnakhōsut'iun Hayastani*, 3 vols. (Venice, 1835), II, 199–201; Barsegh Sargisian, *Mayr Tsuts'ak Hayerēn Dzerhagrats' Matenadaranin Mkhit'areants' i Venetik*, 2 vols. (Venice, 1914–1924), II, 825–826, 829–830.

15. The introduction claims that the churches of Golgotha (Calvary), the Nativity, the Ascension, and the Holy Sepulcher were erected by King Tiridates III of Armenia and by St. Gregory the Illuminator. This assertion has no historical foundation, since it is known that they were constructed by Constantine or Constantius. The tradition is probably related to that other story about the journey of Tiridates to Rome, a story strongly influenced by another apocryphal text, the so-called "Donatio" of Emperor Constantine to the pope. Anastas' catalogue of seventy Armenian churches and monasteries includes names which are not mentioned anywhere else, and there are many corrupt forms which cannot be recognized. Moreover, some of the names of the Armenian princely families that allegedly endowed these monasteries are not identifiable. In general it appears that the names of all the important feudal families were simply brought together to give it some semblance of authenticity and the appearance of a document of an early date. If these families had played such a significant role as the text asserts there would surely be some direct reference to it in the writings of Armenian historians.

Anastas Vardapet's list supplies the barest minimum of information regarding the alleged Armenian institutions, and is limited solely to the recording of their names, locations, and the feudal families in Armenia which provided their endowments. The document asserts that an unspecified number of Armenian monasteries confiscated by the Greeks were eventually recovered by the Armenian princes after payment of a large sum of money to the Byzantine Emperor Justinian. When subsequently the Greek authorities in Jerusalem warned the monophysites that unless they adhered to the Chalcedonian doctrine they would not be permitted to sojourn in the Holy City, some five hundred Armenian monastics were advised by Catholicos Hovhannēs II (557–574) to abandon their monasteries rather than make doctrinal concessions to the Greeks. Although many of the monks are said

to have left for Caesarea in Palestine and Egypt, others remained in their institutions at Jerusalem, despite the persecutions meted out to them by the Byzantine authorities, until the Arab conquest. Under Arab rule the Armenian monastic institutions gradually disintegrated and fell to ruins; some that had been left without administrators were occupied by the Greeks. This degeneration is ascribed to the failure of the catholicoses and princes to dispatch the revenues from the endowments in Armenia and to the heavy taxes imposed by the Arabs. The last section of the text, which appears to have been a much later addendum, asserts that there remained only fifteen monasteries in the hands of the Armenians. These were scattered on the Mount of Olives, in Bethlehem, on Mount Sinai, along the shores of the Sea of Galilee and Jordan River, on Mount Hermon, and on Mount Tabor.

It is alleged that Anastas Vardapet also prepared a list of the Caucasian Albanian monasteries at Jerusalem, which is preserved in the historical work of Movsēs Kaghankatuats'i (Daskhurants'i). A comprehensive bibliography of the published texts of this historical work, including the list of the Albanian monasteries at Jerusalem, will be found in Anasyan, *Haykakan Matenagitut'yun*, I, 827. The text is also published in English translation, with annotations, by C. J. F. Dowsett, *The History of the Caucasian Albanians by Movsēs Daxuranci* (London, 1961); the list of Albanian monasteries is found in bk. II, chap. 52, pp. 184–185. Consult also: E. W. Brooks, "An Armenian Visitor to Jerusalem in the Seventh Century," in *The English Historical Review*, 11 (1896): 93–97; R. N. Bain, "An Armenian Description of the Holy Places in the Seventh Century" in *Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement* (London, 1896), pp. 346–349. A comparison of this document with the catalogue of Armenian monasteries does not help in determining either the authenticity or date of the latter document.

16. See Nersēs Akinian, *Dasakan Hayerēnn ew Viennakan Mkhit'arean Dprots'ē* (Vienna, 1932), pp. 69–70; Kh. S. Gurian, "Erusaghēmean Dprots'ē" in *Arev*, 1940, nos. 6612, 6618, 6624.

17. For most valuable studies of the Armenian Lectionary consult F. C. Conybeare, *Rituale Armenorum* (Oxford, 1905); A. Renoux, "Un Ms. du lectionnaire arménien de Jérusalem (Cod. Jerus. arm. 121)" in *Le Muséon*, 74 (1961): 361–385, and "Lectionnaires arméniens et commémoration de la sépulture du Christ le Vendredi Saint" in *L'Orient syrien*, vol. 7, no. 4 (1962), pp. 463–476. Renoux underscores the singular importance of the two oldest Armenian manuscript texts of the Lectionary — one, the more ancient, in the library of the Armenian patriarchate at Jerusalem, and the other at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (no. 44, A.F. 20) — for the study of the historical evolution of the liturgy and calendar of the Church of Jerusalem. Until the changes introduced by Catholicos Grigor Vkasasēr in the eleventh century, the Lectionary of the Armenian church was based essentially upon the text translated in the fifth century from the Greek used in liturgical rites in the Church of Jerusalem.

18. These are described in M. Avi-Yonah, "Mosaic Pavements in Palestine" in *The Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*, 2 (1932): 136–181, and 3 (1933): 26–73, nos. (of mosaic entries) 117–120, 132.

19. The mosaics with Armenian inscriptions are discussed, or referred to, in the following works: F. J. Bliss, *Excavations at Jerusalem, 1894-1897* (London, 1898), pp. 253-259, 2 figs.; Charles Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches in Palestine during the Years 1873-1874*, trans. Aubrey Stewart, 2 vols. (London, 1899), I, 329-337, pl.; O. M. Dalton, *East Christian Art* (Oxford, 1925), p. 295; Charles Diehl, *Manuel d'art byzantin* (Paris, 1925), p. 227; Adolf Jacoby, *Das geographische Mosaik von Madaba* (Leipzig, 1905), pp. 14-15; Carl M. Kaufmann, *Handbuch der christlichen Archäologie* (3d ed.; Paderborn, Germ., 1922), pp. 414-415; N. P. Kondakov, *Archeologicheskoye Putechstvo po Syrii i Palestinye* (St. Petersburg, 1904), pls. LXI, LXII; Hugues Vincent and F. M. Abel, *Jérusalem; Recherches de topographie, d'archéologie et d'histoire*, vol. II, pt. 3, *Jérusalem Nouvelle* (Paris, 1922), p. 391, pl. XLIII (1, 2). More importantly, consult the following periodical articles: R. C. Bosanquet, "Excavations of the British School at Melos" in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. 18, pt. i (1898), p. 70; H. Gutte, "Mosaiken mit armenischer Inschrift auf dem Oelberge" in *Mitteilungen und Nachrichten des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, 1 (1895): 53; R. Horning, "Verzeichnis von Mosaiken aus Mesopotamien, Syrien, Palästina und dem Sinai" in *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* (ZDPV), 32 (1909): 125, 127f; Elisabeth Loukianoff, "Le Musée du Couvent russe du Mont des Oliviers à Jérusalem" in *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte*, 13 (1930-1931): 100f, pls. IV, V (1), V (2), VI, VII; A. S. Murray, "The Mosaic with Armenian Inscription from near the Damascus Gate, Jerusalem" in *Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement*, April 1895, pp. 126-127; Archidiakonus Owsepian, "Mosaik mit armenischer Inschrift im Norden Jerusalems" in *ZPDV*, 18 (1895): pp. 88-90, pl.; M. Riess, "Reste eines alten armenischen Klosters auf dem Ölberg und die daselbst aufgefundenen Inschriften" in *ZDPV*, 8 (1885): 155-161, pl.; Baurath von Schick and F. J. Bliss, "Discovery of a Beautiful Mosaic Pavement with Armenian Inscription, North of Jerusalem" in *Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement*, Oct. 1894, pp. 257-261, figs.; Paul-M. Séjourné, "Chronique de Jérusalem" in *Revue biblique*, 2 (1893): 241-242, and "Chronique Palestinienne" in *ibid.*, 3 (1894): 628; Josef Strzygowski, "Das neugefundene Orpheus-Mosaik in Jerusalem" in *ZDPV*, 24 (1901): 157f; P. J. Dashian, "Anhang" in *ZDPV*, 24 (1901): 166-171 (an appendage to Strzygowski's article); "Hin Haykakan Mōzayik'ner" in *Anahit Amsagir*, nos. 7-8 (1929), pp. 18-20.

20. See Tabari, *Annales*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, 15 vols. (Leyden, 1879-1901), I, 2125; Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1883-1885), I, 337.

21. See Tabari, *Annales*, I, 2405-2406; Beladsori [al-Baladhuri], *Liber expugnationum regionum (Futuh al-Buldan)*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1866), p. 139; English trans. of Beladsori by P. Hitti, *Origins of the Islamic State*, Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, vol. 68, pt. I (New York, 1915); al-Ya'qubi, *Historiae (Ta'rikh)*, ed. M. T. Houtsma, 2 vols. (Leyden, 1883), II, 167. An English translation of the document will be found in William Muir, *The Caliphate, Its Rise, Decline, and Fall* (Edinburgh, 1924), p. 134; and an Italian version in Leone

Caetani (ed.), *Annali dell' Islam*, 10 vols. (Milan, 1905-1926), vol. III, pt. 2, pp. 956-957, A.H. 17, para. 173.

22. See Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, pp. 956-957.

23. For a summary discussion of the status of the scriptuaries under Muslim rule consult G. Vajda, "Ahl al-Kitab" in *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (new ed.), pp. 264-266.

24. For the historical evolution of the legal and social status of the *dhimmis* under various Muslim rulers consult the following works: Antoine Fattal, *Le Statut légal des non-Musulmans en pays d'Islam* (Beirut, 1958); A. S. Tritton, *The Caliphs and Their Non-Moslem Subjects* (Oxford, 1930); F. van den Steen de Jehay, *De la Situation légale des Sujets ottomans non-Musulmans* (Brussels, 1906); also chap. XIV, "The *Dimmis*" in H. A. R. Gibb and Harold Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West*, vol. I, pts. 1 and 2 (Oxford, 1950-1957), vol. I, pt. 2, pp. 207-261; Claude Cahen, "Dhimma" in *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (new ed.), pp. 227-231; E. Strauss, "The Social Isolation of Ahl adh-Dhimmi" in *Etudes orientales à la mémoire de Paul P. Hirschler*, ed. O. Komlós (Budapest, 1950), pp. 73-94.

The following periodical articles on the same subject also are of considerable interest: A. Fattal, "La Nature juridique du statut des *Dimmis*," in *Université Saint Joseph de Beyrouth, Annales de la Faculté de Droit*, 1956, pp. 139-154, and "Comment les *dhimmis* étaient jugés en terre d'Islam" in *Cahiers d'histoire égyptienne*, 3 (1951): 321-341; M. Perlmann, "Notes on Anti-Christian Propaganda in the Mamluk Empire" in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 10 (1940-1942): 843-861; M. Schwab, "Les Non-musulmans dans le monde de l'Islam" in *Revue du monde musulman*, 6 (1908): 622-639; A. S. Tritton, "Non Muslim Subjects of the Muslim State" in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1942, pp. 36-40.

25. For the restrictive measures imposed on the Christians by various Muslim rulers consult Philip K. Hitti, *History of Syria, Including Lebanon and Palestine* (London, 1951), pp. 487-488, 543-544, 587-588. The effects of Muslim policy on the Christian pilgrimages to the Holy Land are discussed in Steven Runciman, "The Pilgrimages to Palestine before 1095" in *A History of the Crusades*, 2 vols., ed. Kenneth M. Setton (Philadelphia, 1958-1962), I, 68-78.

26. See G. Schlumberger, *L'Epopée byzantine à la fin du dixième siècle*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1896-1905), III, 23, 131, 203-204.

27. The principal Armenian primary sources on the Arab occupation of Armenia are: [Sebeōs], *Patmut' iun Sebeōsi Episkoposi i Herakln* (Constantinople, 1851; also Tiflis, 1912), trans. into Russian by K. Patkanov (St. Petersburg, 1862), trans. into French by F. Macler (Paris, 1904), and trans. into German by H. Hübschmann (Leipzig, 1875); Ghewond [Leon-tius], *Arshawank' Arabats' i Hays, Arareal Ghewond Vardapeti Hayots'*, ed. K. Shahnazarian (Paris, 1859), especially for the years 662-770; [Vardan Vardapet Patmich'], *Hawak'umn Patmut'ean Vardanay Vardapeti*, ed. Ghewond M. Alishan (Venice, 1862); and J. Muyldermans' *La Domination arabe en Arménie* (Louvain, Paris, 1927), which is based on Ghewond's work. The major Arabic sources (al-Baladhuri, ibn Miskawayh, al-Tabari,

al-Ya'qubi, ibn al-Athir, and so forth), dealing with Arab rule in Armenia, are translated and collected in Bagrat Khalat'iants', *Arabats'i Mate-nagrer Hayastani Masin* (Vienna, 1919). For additional primary and secondary sources, including studies dealing with specific periods, consult the bibliography in article "Arminiya" in *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (new ed.), pp. 646-647.

28. See [Asoghik], *Tiezerakan Patmut'iun Step'anosi Vardapeti Tarō-nets'woy*, ed. K. Shahnazarian (Paris, 1853), bk. II, p. 24; Ghewond, *Arshawank' Arabats'* (Armenian ed.), bk. III, pp. 26-27, 30.

29. See *Chronique de Michel le Syrien, Patriarche Jacobite d'Antioche*, trans. J. B. Chabot, 3 vols. (Paris, 1899-1910), II, 482; Theophanes, *Chronographia*, I, 382; Abu al-Faraj [Bar-Hebraeus], *Chronicon Syriacum* (Paris, 1890), p. 121.

30. In 653, for instance, the Arabs carried off to Damascus some 2000 Armenian princes and their families as hostages. After an insurrection in Armenia led by Hamazasp Mamikonian in 655, about 1775 of these hostages were put to death. See Sebēos, *Patmut'iun*, bk. XXXVIII; and [Hovhannēs Kat'oghikos], *Patmut'iun Hovhannu Kat'oghikosi* (Jerusalem, 1867), p. 113.

31. See *T'ovmasi Vardapeti Artsrunwoy Patmut'iun Tann Artsrunēats'* (Tiflis, 1917), p. 131. This historical work, which originally went as far as A.D. 907, and was continued down to 1226, will be found in French trans. in Brosset, "Histoire des Ardzrounis" in *Collection d'Historiens arméniens*, I (St. Petersburg, 1874).

32. Regarding Ashot's reign, see Hagop Thopdschian, "Die inneren Zustände von Armenien unter Ašot I" in *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin*, 1904, pp. 104-153, and "Politische und Kirchengeschichte Armeniens unter Ašot I und Smbat I," *ibid.*, 1905, pp. 98-215. The origin of the Bagratuni dynasty of Armenia is adequately discussed in Markwart, *Bagratuneats' Tsagumě*, trans. from German original by M. Hapozian (Vienna, 1913).

33. A. H. Sayce, *Les Hetéens; Histoire d'un empire oublié* (Paris, 1891), p. 250.

34. Schlumberger, *L'Épopée byzantine à la fin du dixième siècle*, II, 151.

35. For the political situation of Armenia in the tenth century and its reconquest by Byzantium in the eleventh century consult: Grousset, *Histoire de l'Arménie*; S. Runciman, *The Emperor Romanus Lecapenus and His Reign: A Study of Tenth Century Byzantium* (Cambridge, Eng., 1929), pp. 151f; M. Canard, *Histoire de la dynastie des H'amdaniides de Jazira et de Syrie*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1953), I, 462f. and earlier; G. Schlumberger, *Un Empereur byzantin au dixième siècle; Nicéphore Phocas* (Paris, 1890), and *L'Épopée byzantine*, vols I and II; Manandyan, *K'nakan Tesut'yun*, III, 11-30; A. A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire, 324-1453*, 2 vols. (Madison, Wis., 1961), I, 315, 355; Aram Akulian, *Einverleibung armenischer Territorien durch Byzanz im XI Jahrhundert* (Groningen, 1912). See also Z. Avalichvili, "La Succession du Curopalate David d'Ibérie, dynaste de Tao" in *Byzantion*, 8 (1933): 177-202; as well as articles by N. Adontz cited in note 11 above.

36. For discussions of the status and role of the Armenians in the Byzantine empire see: Karapet Tēr Sahakian, *Hay Kayserk' Biuzandioni*, 2 vols. (Venice, 1905); Der Nersessian, *Armenia and the Byzantine Empire*, pp. 19-28; P. Charanis, "The Armenians in the Byzantine Empire" in *Byzantinoslavica*, vol. 22, pt. 2 (1961), pp. 196-240; Henri Grégoire, "An Armenian Dynasty on the Byzantine Throne" in *Armenian Quarterly*, 1 (1946): 4-21. The role of certain Armenians at Byzantium is discussed in A. Leroy-Molinghen, "Lettres de Théophylacte au Taronite" in *Byzantion*, 11 (1936): 589-592, and "Les deux Jean Taronite de l'Alexiade," *ibid.*, 14 (1939): 147-153. The following works also refer to Armeno-Byzantine relations: M. A. Cheira, *La Lutte entre Arabes et Byzantins, la conquête et l'organisation des frontières aux VII^e et VIII^e siècle* (Alexandria, 1947); H. A. R. Gibb, "Arab-Byzantine Relations under the Umayyad Caliphate" in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, vol. XII (1958); M. Canard, "Les Expéditions des Arabes contre Constantinople dans l'histoire et dans la légende" in *Journal Asiatique*, 208 (1926): 61-121; E. W. Brooks, "The Arabs in Asia Minor (641-750), from Arabic Sources" in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 18 (1898): 182-208.

37. On the battle of Manzikert see Claude Cahen, "La Campagne de Mantzikert d'après les sources musulmanes" in *Byzantion*, 9 (1934): 613-642. The primary sources pertaining to the Seljuks are collected in M. T. Houtsma (ed.), *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjucides*, 4 vols. (Leyden, 1886-1902). The main source on Armenia under the Seljuks is the eyewitness account of [Aristakēs Lastivertts'i], *Patmut'un Aristakeay Vardapeti Lastivertts'woy* (Tiflis, 1912), trans. into French by E. Prud'homme, *Histoire d'Arménie par Arisdaguès* (Paris, 1864). A contemporary account for the period 1165-1265 will be found in [Kirakos Gandzakets'i], *Patmut'un Hayots' Arareal Kirakosi Vardapeti Gandzakets'woy* (Tiflis, 1909), trans. into French in M. Brosset, *Deux historiens arméniens, Kirakos de Gantzac, XIII^e siècle, Histoire d'Arménie; Oukhtanés d'Ourha, X^e siècle, Histoire en trois parties* (St. Petersburg, 1870-1871). Among the secondary sources dealing with Armenia under the Seljuks see Manandyan, *K'nnakan Tesut'yun*, III, 31-88. On Seljuk-Armenian relations see also: J. Laurent, *Byzance et les Turcs Seldjucides dans l'Asie occidentale jusqu'en 1081* (Paris, 1913-1914), including an extensive bibliography; Claude Cahen, "La Première pénétration turque en Asie Mineure (seconde moitié du XI^e siècle)" in *Byzantion*, 18 (1948): 5-68, which deals primarily with the Seljuk expansion in the west; J. Deny, "L'Expansion des Turcs en Asie jusqu'au XI^e siècle" in *En Terre d'Islam*, 1939, pp. 191-215; Claude Cahen, "The Turkish Invasion: The Selchūkids" in Setton, *History of the Crusades*, I, 135-176; Fadil Sanaullah, *The Decline of the Saljuqid Empire* (Calcutta, 1938).

38. Theophanes, *Chronographia*, pp. 427, 430; cf. Der Nersessian, *Armenia and the Byzantine Empire*, p. 24.

39. See A. Mingana, "The Work of Dionysius Barsalibi against the Armenians" in *Woodbrooke Studies*, vol. IV (Cambridge, Eng., 1931), p. 55. This Syrian prelate lived for many years at Melitene where there was a large Armenian population. The main theme of his treatise is to show

that the Armenians had a strong leaning toward the doctrines of the Phantasiasts as promulgated by Julian of Halicarnassus and propagated by Felissimus and others, as well as to expose and refute the "uncanonical" customs and habits of the Armenians. Despite its obvious polemical style and exaggerations, which were characteristic of the age in which he lived, Barsalibi's work is of considerable interest to the theologian and church historian, as it contributes much to an understanding of the early Christian controversies.

40. For original sources dealing with the union of the West Syrian and Armenian churches, referred to by Barsalibi, consult: Bar-Hebraeus, *Chron. Eccl.*, I, 299-304; Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle*, II, 492-500; *Girk' T'gh'tots'* (Tiflis, 1901), pp. 227-233; *Samuël Kahanayi Anets'woy Hawak'munk' i Grots' Patmagrats'*, ed. Arshak Tër-Mik'ëlian (Vagarshapat, 1893), p. 87; *Kirakosi Vardapeti Gandzakets'woy Hamarhöt Patmut'iun* (Venice, 1865), pp. 38-39; *Hawak'umn Patmut'ean Vardanay Vardapeti* (Venice, 1862), p. 73; *Tiezzerakan Patmut'iun Step'anosi Vardapeti Tarönet's'woy*, ed. K. Shahnazarian (Paris, 1853), pp. 104-105; Garegin Hovsep'ian, *Khosrovik T'argmanich' ew Erkasirut'iunk' Norin*, 2 pts. (Vagarshapat, 1902), II, 1-197. The background, consummation, and terms of this historic union are authoritatively discussed in Eruand Tër-Minasians', *Hayots' Ekeghets'u Haraberut'iunnerë Asorwots' Ekeghets'ineri het* (Etchmiadzin, 1908), pp. 129-130, 179-215; this work was originally published in German: E. Ter-Minassiantz, *Die armenische Kirche in ihren Beziehungen zu den syrischen Kirchen* (Leipzig, 1908); Öрманian, *Azgapatum*, cols. 572-578.

41. At this monastery Syrian and Armenian monks translated, at the beginning of the eighth century, the works of the Church Fathers from Syriac into Armenian. One of the most salubrious results of this literary endeavor is that a number of Syriac treatises which were lost are preserved in their Armenian translations.

42. Regarding the establishment of semi-autonomous Armenian principalities in these regions, consult F. Chalandon, *Essai sur le règne d'Alexis 1^{er} Comnène, 1081-1118* (New York, [1916]), pp. 95f; Laurent, *Byzance et les Turcs Seldjoucides dans l'Asie occidentale jusqu'en 1081*, pp. 81f; René Grousset, *Histoire des croisades et du Royaume Franc de Jérusalem*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1934-1936), I, xl f; Steven Runciman, "The First Crusade: Constantinople to Antioch," in Setton, *History of the Crusades*, I, 299-301. The most important among the Armenian chieftains was Philaretus, a former general of Romanus Diogenes, who at the height of his power (1078-1085) succeeded in establishing a principality in a large area which comprised the cities of Melitene, Marash, Edessa, and Antioch. See J. Laurent, "Byzance et Antioche sous les curopalates Philarète" in *Revue des études arméniennes*, 9 (1929): 61-72.

43. The principal Armenian sources concerning the barony and kingdom of Cilicia are extracted and translated in *RHC, Doc. Arm.*, I. Other Armenian texts will be found in Hakobyan, *Manr Zhamanakagrut'yunner*, vols. I and II; R. P. Blake and R. N. Frye (eds.), *History of the Nation of the Archers (the Mongols) by Grigor of Akanc'* (Cambridge, Mass., 1954); Serobë Agëlian (ed.), *Smbatay Sparapeti Taregirk'* (Venice, 1956); see

also Garegin I Kat'oghikos [Hovsēp'ian], *Hishatakarank' Dzerhagrats'*, I (Antilias, 1951), and L. S. Khach'ikyan, *XIV Dari Hayeren Dzerhagreri Hishatakaranner* (Erevan, 1950), both of which are collections of colophons of Armenian MSS, which often give valuable historical information.

The Byzantine and Western primary sources on the Cilician kingdom include: Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, ed. B. Leib, 3 vols. (Paris, 1937-1945), and *The Alexiad*, ed. A. Reifferscheid, 2 vols., trans. E. A. S. Dawes (London, 1928); Cedrenus-Skylitzes, *Historiarum compendium*, vol. II (*Corpus scriptorum historiae byzantinae*, Bonn, 1839); Nicetas Choniates, *Historiae*, ed. I. Bekker (*Corpus scriptorum historiae byzantinae*, Bonn, 1835); William of Tyre, *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum* in RHC, *Doc. Occ.*, I-II, trans. into French as *L'Estoire de Eracles empereur* in RHC, *Doc. Occ.*, I, and trans. into English by E. A. Babcock and A. C. Krey, *William Archbishop of Tyre: A History of Deeds Done beyond the Sea* (New York, 1943).

Among the original Syriac sources the reader should consult: the chronicle trans. by A. S. Tritton and H. A. R. Gibb, "The First and Second Crusades from an Anonymous Syriac Chronicle" in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1933, pp. 69-101, 273-305; *Chronique de Michel le Syrien, Patriarche Jacobite d'Antioche*, trans. J. B. Chabot, 3 vols. (Paris, 1899-1905), and the same text trans. by V. Langlois, *Chronique de Michel le Grand, patriarche des Syriens Jacobites; traduits pour la première fois sur la version arménienne* (Venice, 1868); [Bar Hebraeus], *The Chronography of Gregory Abu'l Faraj . . . Commonly Known as Bar Hebraeus, being the First Part of His Political History*, trans. E. A. W. Budge, 2 vols. (London, 1932).

The major Arabic sources on the Cilician kingdom are: Ibn al-Athir, *Al-Kamil fi al-Ta'rikh*, ed. C. J. Tornberg (Leyden, 1865), and extracts in RHC, *Doc. Or.*, I, 187-744, and II, pt. 1; abu-al-Fida', *al-Tawarikh al-Qadimah min al-Mukhtasar fi Akhbar al-Bashar*, ed. H. O. Fleischer (Leipzig, 1831), and extracts in RHC, *Doc. Or.*, I, 1-115; al-Jazari, *Hawadith al-Zaman* (extracts and summaries by J. Sauvaget, *La Chronique de Damas d'Al-Jazari*, Paris, 1949; Kamal al-Din, *Zubdat al-Halab fi Ta'rikh Halab*, trans. E. Blochet, "Histoire d'Alep" in *Revue de l'Orient latin*, vols. III-IV, 1895-1898; al-Maqrizi, *Al-Mawa'iz w-al-I'tibar bi-Dhikr al-Khitat w-al-Athar*, 2 vols. (Bulaq, 1270 A.H.), also trans. E. M. Quatremère, *Histoire des sultans mamlouks de l'Égypte*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1837-1845); al-Maqrizi, *Akhbar Misr*, trans. E. Blochet, *Histoire d'Égypte* (Paris, 1908); ibn al-Qalanisi, *Dhayl Ta'rikh Dimashq*, ed. H. F. Amedroz (Beirut, 1908), also extracts trans. H. A. R. Gibb, *The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades* (London, 1932), and R. Le Tourneau, *Damas de 1075 à 1154* (Paris, 1952); abu-Shamah, *Kitab al-Rawdatayn fi Akhbar al-Dawlatayn*, 2 vols. (Cairo, 1287-1288 A.H.), trans. into French in RHC, *Doc. Or.*, IV-V.

Besides the general histories of the Crusades (see note 44 below), the reader should consult the following three principal works in Armenian: Ghewond M. Alishan, *Sisuan; Hamagrut'iun Haykakan Kilikioy ew Lewon Metsagorts* (Venice, 1885); *Ormanian, Azgapatum*; Ch'amch'ian, *Patmut'iun Hayots'*, vols. I-III. Among western-language secondary sources the most important are: Leonce M. Alishan, *Léon le Magnifique, premier roi*

de Sissouan ou de l'Arméno-Cilicie (Venice, 1888); Alishan, *Sissouan ou l'Arméno-Cilicie, description géographique et historique* (Venice, 1899); Claude Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des croisades et la principauté franque d'Antioche* (Paris, 1940), which also provides an excellent bibliography on the Crusades; F. Chalandon, *Les Comnène*; Sirarpie Der Nersessian, "The Kingdom of Cilician Armenia" in Setton, *History of the Crusades*, II, 630-659; Edouard Dulaurier, *Etude sur l'organisation, religieuse et administrative du royaume de la Petite-Arménie à l'époque des croisades* (Paris, 1862); Dulaurier, "Le Royaume de Petite-Arménie" in *RHC, Doc. Arm.*, I; Hovhan Hagopian, *The Relations of the Armenians and the Franks during the Reign of Leon II, 1186-1219* ([Boston], 1905); N. Iorga, *Brève histoire de la Petite Arménie — d'Arménie Cilicienne* (Paris, 1930); De Morgan, *Histoire du peuple arméniens*; Vahram Rhapoun, *Chronique du royaume arménienne de la Cilicie à l'époque des croisades* (Paris, 1864); Tournebize, *Histoire politique et religieuse de l'Arménie*; G. G. Mikayelyan, *Istoriya Kilikiiskogo armyanskogo gosudartsvo* (in Russian; Erevan, 1952). See also the following periodical articles: Edouard Dulaurier, "Etude sur l'organisation politique, religieuse et administrative du royaume de Petite Arménie" in *Journal Asiatique*, fifth series, April-May 1861, pp. 377-437, and Oct.-Nov. 1861, pp. 289-357; J. Laurent, "Les Croisés et l'Arménie" in *Handes Amsorya*, 41 (1927): 885-906; also M. Canard, "Cilicia" in *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (new ed.), pp. 34-39, and V. F. Büchner, "Sis," *ibid.* (old ed.), pp. 453-455.

44. The principal primary sources on the Crusades are collected in *RHC, Doc. Occ.*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1844-1895); *Doc. Grecs*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1875-1881); *Doc. Or.*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1872-1906); *Doc. Arm.*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1869-1906). Moreover, a broadly conceived general bibliography on the Crusades is to be found in H. E. Meyer, *Bibliographie zur Geschichte der Kreuzzüge* (Hanover, 1960). Among the principal standard works mention should be made of René Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades et du royaume franque de Jérusalem*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1934-1936); Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, Eng., 1951-1954); Kenneth M. Setton (ed.), *A History of the Crusades*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1958-1962); W. B. Stevenson, *The Crusaders in the East* (Cambridge, Eng., 1907); Dana C. Munro, *The Kingdom of the Crusades* (New York, 1935); Claude Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des croisades et la principauté franque d'Antioche* (Paris, 1940).

45. Consult in particular the monographic work by Alishan, *Léon le Magnifique*. An interesting new study dealing with the relations of various Latin knights' orders with the Cilician kingdom will be found in S. V. Borhnazian, "Khach'akir Ordenneri ev Kilikyan Hayastani K'aghak'akan u Tntesakan Arhnch'ut'yunneri Patmut'yunits'" in *Patma-Banasirakan Handes*, 3 (1963): 175-184.

46. See *Endhanrakan T'ught'k' Srboyn Nersisi Shnorhahwoy* (Jerusalem, 1871), pp. 198-199. Whether the above-named bishoprics were the only ones in Syria and Palestine at this time cannot be easily determined, particularly since it is known that not *all* of the Armenian episcopacies in the east were represented at this council.

47. Alishan, *Sisuan*, p. 482, n. 2.
48. See "Akka" in *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (new ed.), I, 341.
49. Alishan, *Sisuan*, p. 482, n. 2.
50. See H. Vincent and F. M. Abel, *Bethléem; Le Sanctuaire de la Nativité* (Paris, 1914), pp. 184-185, pls. XV, XVI; Melchior de Vogüé, *Les Eglises de la Terre Sainte* (Paris, 1860), pp. 112-114; Frédéric Macler, *Les Arméniens en Syrie et en Palestine* (Marseille, 1919), p. 4.
51. This Armenian monastery is referred to in R. W. Hamilton, "Excavations in the Atrium of the Church of the Nativity, Bethlehem" in *The Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*, vol. III, no. 1 (1933), pp. 1-8.
52. See RHC, *Doc. Arm.*, I, cxxiii; Alishan, *Sissouan ou l'Arméno-Cilicie*, pp. 43f; Macler, *Les Arméniens en Syrie*, pp. 11-12.
53. Jacques de Vitry, *The History of Jerusalem*, trans. Aubrey Stewart (London, 1896), p. 79.
54. See Alishan, *Sisuan*, p. 482.
55. The account of Prince T'oros' visit to Jerusalem in the 1160's will be found in M. L. de Mas Latrie (ed.), *Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier* (Paris, 1871), pp. 27-30. For other royal visits consult Ch'amch'ian, *Patmut'iun Hayots'*, III, 141; Sawalanians', *Patmut'iun Erusaghēmi*, I, 512-513, 599-600; Alishan, *Hay-Venet*, p. 89; Mkrtich' Aghawnuni, *Miabank' ew Ayts'eluk' Hay Erusaghēmi* (Jerusalem, 1929), pp. 167-168.
56. See Chewond M. Alishan, trans., *Abusahl Hay, Patmut'iun Ekeghets'-eats' ew Vanorēits' Egiptosi* (Venice, 1933), p. 20-28.
57. Vincent-Abel, *Jérusalem Nouvelle*, p. 522.
58. For an authoritative summary history and description of the architecture of the cathedral of St. James, based on documentary and archaeological evidence, consult Vincent-Abel, *Jérusalem Nouvelle*, pp. 516-561.
59. For discussions of these Latin towns consult Camille Enlart, *Les Monuments des Croisades*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1925-1928); F. Vigouroux, "Kirmoab" in *Dictionnaire de la Bible* (Paris, 1904), pp. 1895-1906; Barnabé Meistermann, *Guide du Nil au Jourdain par le Sinaï et Pétra sur les traces d'Israël* (Paris, 1909), pp. 252-259.
60. It has been suggested that, upon his return to Cilicia, Prince Reuben encouraged his fellow Armenians to settle in the prosperous city of Kerak as traders, especially in view of the facilities provided by the Latin authorities (see Aghawnuni, *Haykakan Hin Vank'er*, p. 52).
61. According to an inscription found in 1878, Het'um is claimed to have built the Armenian church of St. James at Kerak in 1257. (See texts, and also discussions, of the inscription in Hovhannēsians', *Patmut'iun S. Erusaghēmi* I, 187-188; Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, *Premiers rapports sur une mission en Palestine et en Phénicie entreprise en 1881* (Extrait des archives des missions scientifiques et littéraires, third series, vol. IX, Paris, 1882), pp. 45-46, and *Mission en Palestine et en Phénicie entreprise en 1881, Cinquième Rapport* (Extrait des archives des missions scientifiques et littéraires, Paris, 1884), p. 113; F. Macler, *Les Arméniens en Syrie*, pp. 5-6. As the style of the inscription is neither classical nor Cilician Armenian but

much closer to modern Armenian, the authenticity of the inscription is doubtful, however.

62. The colophons of this manuscript (no. 1822 of the Armenian patriarchate of Jerusalem), which record its donation to the church at Kerak, are reproduced in Sawalanians', *Patmut'iun Erusaghēmi*, I, 512-513.

63. See Aghawnuni, *Haykakan Hin Vank'er*, pp. 438-439.

64. See ibn Khaldun, *Kitab al-'Ibar wa-Diwan al-Mubtada' w-al-Khabar* (Cairo, 1284 A.H.), V, 311.

65. Hovhannēsians', *Patmut'iun S. Erusaghēmi*, I, 154.

66. The effects of Mongol rule in Armenia are discussed in H. Manandyan, *Hayastani Patmut'iunē T'urk-T'at'arakan Arshawank'neri Shrjanum* (Erevan, 1922); and Manandyan, *K'nnakan Tesut'yun*, III, 178-363.

67. For the Mongol-Armenian alliance consult Kirakos, *Patmut'iun* (Tiflis edition), pp. 350-357; Hetoum, "La Flor des estoires de la terre d'orient" in *RHC, Doc. Arm.*, II, 163-168; Agēlian, *Smbatay Sparapeti Taregirk'*, pp. 229-231.

68. M. L. de Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l'île de Chypre sous le règne des princes de la maison de Lusignan*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1852-1861), I, 412; Grousset, *Histoire des croisades*, III, 632.

69. Manandyan, *K'nnakan Tesut'yun*, III, 233-236.

70. Kirakos, *Patmut'iun* (Tiflis edition), pp. 372-373.

71. Consult, in particular, Victor Langlois, *Essai historique et critique sur la constitution sociale et politique de l'Arménie sous les rois de la dynastie Roupénienne* (St. Petersburg, 1860).

72. See Victor Langlois, *Documents pour servir à l'histoire des Lusignans de la Petite Arménie, 1342-1394* (Paris, 1859); K. J. Basmadjian, "Les Lusignans de Poitou au trône de la Petite Arménie" in *Journal Asiatique*, tenth series, 7 (1906): 520-524.

73. After the fall of Sis the Cilician royal family was carried off to Egypt. Unlike his wife and daughter, King Leon was refused permission to seek refuge in Jerusalem. He traveled in Europe seeking aid to recover his throne, but to no avail. He died at Paris in 1393, and his remains were finally placed in the royal vaults at St. Denis. The two pious ladies, on the other hand, sojourned at the Armenian monastery in Jerusalem until their death and were buried in the cathedral of St. James. (See Vincent-Abel, *Jérusalem Nouvelle*, p. 523.)

For the Mameluke invasions of Cilicia consult the relevant sections in the original Armenian sources of Smbat, Kirakos, and Het'um. Likewise, see relevant sections in the following Arabic sources: al-Maqrizi, *Kitab al-Suluk li-Ma'rifat al-Muluk*, ed. M. Mustafa Ziyadah (Cairo, 1934), and Quatremère's trans. of same work, *Histoire des sultans mamlouks* (Paris, 1854); Mufaddal bin abi al-Fada'il, trans. and ed. E. Blochet in *Patrologia Orientalia*, XII and XIV; abu-al-Fida', *Kitab al-Mukhtasar*; and others. Among secondary sources dealing with the same subject special mention should be made of: G. Wiet, *L'Égypte arabe* (vol. IV of Hanotaux's *Histoire de la nation égyptienne*), pp. 417, 425, 449, 466, 475, 483-484; K. V. Zetterstéen, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mamlukensultane in den Jahren 690-741 der Hira nach arabischen Handschriften* (Leiden, 1919); M.

Canard, "Les relations entre les Mérinides et les Mamelouks au XIV^e siècle" in *Annales de l'Institut d'Etudes Orientales de la Faculté des Lettres d'Alger*, 5 (1939-1941): 53-54, which provides additional bibliographical information. For further data, the reader could also consult the articles on Adana, Ayas, Missis, and Sis in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*.

74. The authoritative history of Armenian literature during the Cilician period will be found in Manuk Abeghyan, *Hayots' Hin Grakanut'yan Patmut'yun*, 2 vols. (Erevan, 1944-1946), vol. II.

75. For a summary but excellent study of Armenian miniature painting, with particular reference to the products of the Cilician period, consult Sirarpie Der Nersessian, *A Catalogue of the Armenian Manuscripts, the Chester Beatty Library*, 2 vols. (Dublin, 1958), I, xix-xliv (introduction).

76. For various charters and other acts, see V. Langlois, *Le Trésor des chartes d'Arménie, ou Cartulaire de la chancellerie royale des Roupéniens* (Venice, 1862), pp. 105-112, 126. An Armenian translation of this important work appears in *Hawak'umn Rhubinian Hishatakagrats', Hrovartakats', Dashnagrots' ew Artōnut'eants', or Hayots' Rhubinian Tagaworut'enēn Shnorhuer en Ewropakan Azgats' ew Petut'eants'* (Venice, 1863). For Genoese-Cilician relations consult, in particular, V. Langlois, *Mémoire sur les relations de la république de Gênes avec le royaume chrétien de la Petite-Arménie pendant les XIII et XIV siècles* (Turin, 1861); see also Edouard Dulaurier, *Notice sur deux privilèges accordés par les rois de la Petite-Arménie aux marchands de Montpellier* (Paris, 1871), which reproduces the Armenian text of the privileges. The following studies deal with the trade of Genoa and Marseilles with the Levantine commercial centers: E. H. Byrne, "Commercial Contacts of the Genoese in the Syrian Trade of the Twelfth Century" in *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 31 (1916-1917): 126-170; Byrne, "Genoese Trade with Syria in the 12th Century" in *American Historical Review*, 25 (1919-1920): 191-219; A. E. Sayous, "Le commerce de Marseille avec la Syrie au milieu du XIII^e siècle" in *Revue des études historiques*, 95 (1929): 391-408.

77. See De Morgan, *History of Armenian People*, pp. 192, 228-230.

78. Consult Cornelio Desimoni, "Actes passés en 1271, 1274 et 1279 à l'Aïas (Petite Arménie) et à Beyrouth par devant des notaires génois" in *Archives de l'Orient latin*, 1 (1881): 434-534; also Leonce M. Alishan, *Ayas, son port et son commerce et ses relations avec l'Occident; Extrait du "Sissouan" ou l'Arméno-Cilicie* (Venice, 1899). For Cilicia's trade with Venice see the important monographic study by Alishan, *Hay-Venet*, which also has an Italian version, Leone Alishan, *L'Armeno-Veneto, compendio storico e documenti della relazioni degli Armeni coi Veneziani*, 2 vols. (Venice, 1893).

79. Al-Idrisi, *Nuzhat al-Mushtaq: Dhikr al-Sha'm*, ed. J. Gildemeister (Bonn, 1885), pp. 12, 15; Theodorich, *Description of the Holy Places*, trans. Aubrey Stewart (London, 1896), pp. 71-73; Joannes Phocas, *The Pilgrimage of Joannes Phocas*, trans. Aubrey Stewart (London, 1896), pp. 9-10; William of Tyre, *History of Deeds*, Babcock-Krey trans., II, 6.

80. Manandyan, *K'nnakan Patmut'iun*, III, 166.

81. Alpöyajian, *Gagh'akanut'iun*, II, 453-454.

82. *Ibid.*, p. 453.

83. Artawazd Siurmēian, *Patmut'ūn Halēpi Hayots'*, 3 vols. (Aleppo, Beirut, Paris, 1940-1950), III, 5.

84. *Ibid.*, III, 25-26; Siurmēian, *Ts'uts'ak Hayerēn Dzerhagrats' S. Karhasun Mankunk' Ekeghets'woy Halēpi ew Masnaworats'* (Jerusalem, 1935), I, 214.

85. Siurmēian, *Patmut'ūn Halēpi Hayots'*, III, 8 (MS. no. 2629 of the Armenian patriarchate of Jerusalem).

86. Misak K'elēshian, *Sis-Matean* (Beirut, 1949), pp. 59, 72.

87. Alpōyajian, *Gaght'akanut'ūn*, II, 451-452.

88. Siurmēian, *Patmut'ūn Halēpi Hayots'*, III, 26-27.

89. Alpōyajian, *Gaght'akanut'ūn*, II, 550-553.

90. Hitti, *Syria*, p. 638; cf. also D. Ayalon, "The Plague and Its Effects upon the Mamluk Army" in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1946, pp. 67-73.

91. There is a vast amount of literature dealing with the historical evolution of the Armenian church. Among the general works Maghak'ia Ōrmanian's *Azgapatum* is the most comprehensive and authoritative history. Ōrmanian's *L'Église arménienne* (Paris, 1910) summarizes the history, doctrine, administration, discipline and liturgy of the Armenian religious institution. There are Armenian and English translations of this work, including *The Church of Armenia*, trans. G. Marcar Gregory and ed. Terenig Poladian (London, 1955). See also Husik Movsisian, *Hayastaneayts' Arhak'elakan Surb Ekeghets'woy Patmut'ūn* (Vagarshapat, 1884); Melk'isedek Muratian, *Patmut'ūn Hayastaneayts' Surb Ekeghets'woy* (Jerusalem, 1872); Abēl Mkhit'ariants', *Patmut'ūn Zhoghovots' Hayastaneayts' Ekeghets'woy Handerdz Kanonagru'eamb* (Vagarshapat, 1874); Abraham Zaminian, *Hayots' Ekeghets'u Patmut'ūn*, 2 vols. (Nor Nakhjewan, 1888). The following present the Catholic viewpoint: Ch'amch'ian, *Patmut'ūn Hayots'*; Vardan Estkarian, *Ekeghets'akan Patmut'ūn, Handerdz Azgayin Ekeghets'akan Patmut'eamb* (Vienna, 1872); Ignatios P'ap'azian, *Patmut'ūn Ekeghets'akan* (Venice, 1848); Aghek'sandr Palchian, *Patmut'ūn Kat'oghikē Vardapetut'ean i Hays, ew Miut'ūn nots'a ēnd Hrhomēakan Ekeghets'woy i P'lorentean Siunhodosi* (Vienna, 1878).

92. The actual date of the official proclamation of Christianity in Armenia is still in dispute. There are those who claim that this historic event took place as early as the year A.D. 287; 301 is the generally accepted date.

93. The primary source concerning the conversion of Tiridates by St. Gregory the Illuminator is Agathangelos. The work attributed to Agathangelos, entitled *Agat'angeghay Patmut'ūn Hayots'*, appears in several languages and also in numerous editions. For a comprehensive bibliographical study of these texts consult Anasyan, *Haykakan Matenagitut'yun*, I, 151-213.

94. See Karapet Shahnazarian, *Dashants' T'ght'oy K'nnut'iunn u Herk'umē* (Paris, 1862).

95. Der Nersessian, *Armenia and the Byzantine Empire*, pp. 37-38.

96. See Arshak Tēr-Mik'ayēlian, *Hayastaneayts' Ekeghets'in ew Buiz-andakan Zhoghovots' Paragayk'* (Moscow, 1892).

97. For a detailed discussion of the negotiations and the accord consult Öрманian, *Azgapatum*, I, cols. 461-471.

98. *Ibid.*, cols. 480-485.

99. *Ibid.*, cols. 667-670.

100. For a detailed discussion of these negotiations see Öрманian, *Azgapatum*, I, cols. 950-951, 968-977, 983-985, 991, 996-997, 1000-1019. Consult also the monographic study on Armeno-Byzantine ecclesiastical relations by Aršak Ter-Mikēlian, *Die armenische Kirche in ihren beziehungen zur byzantinischen von IV. bis zum XIII Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 1892).

101. See Vincent-Abel, *Jérusalem Nouvelle*, p. 522; Ch'amch'ian, *Patmut'iun Hayots'*, III, 53-54. Cf. Öрманian, *Azgapatum*, col. 940. *Samuēl Anets'woy Hawak'munk' i Grots' Patmagrats'*, ed. Arshak Tēr-Mik'ēlian (Vagarshapat, 1893), p. 123, asserts that Grigor's explanations at the Latin council of Jerusalem were found to be most satisfactory, and that in consequence the cordiality of Armeno-Latin relations was immeasurably enhanced.

102. Öрманian, *Azgapatum*, col. 941.

103. *Ibid.*, col. 942.

104. Consult Pascal Tekeyan, *Controverses christologiques en Arménio-Cilicie dans la second moitié du XII^e siècle, 1165-1198* (*Orientalia christiana analecta*, no. 124, Rome, 1939).

105. See *Hawak'umn Patmut'ean Vardanay Vardapeti*, pp. 133-134; Ch'amch'ian, *Patmut'iun Hayots'*, III, 143-144; Öрманian, *Azgapatum*, col. 1020; Tekeyan, *Controverses*, pp. 51-54.

106. RHC, Doc. Arm., I, 422-423; Vincent of Bauvais, *Speculum Historiale*, XXI, 29; Alishan, *Léon le Magnifique*, p. 167; Der Nersessian, "The Kingdom of Cilician Armenia" in Setton, *History of the Crusades*, II, 647; Öрманian, *Azgapatum*, cols. 1056-1059.

107. Clemente Galano, *Miabanut'iun Hayots' Surb Ekeghets'woyn end Metsi Surb Ekeghets'woyn Hrhomay* (Rome, 1650), I, 346-358.

108. Öрманian, *Church of Armenia*, p. 53.

109. *Girk' T'gh'ots'*, pp. 504-508.

110. Leon Arpee, *A History of Armenian Christianity, from the Beginning to Our Own Time* (Princeton, 1946), p. 151.

111. Galano, *Miabanut'iun*, I, 403, 404-410.

112. Örbēlian, *Patmut'iun Nahangin Sisakan* (Paris ed.), II, 184-186.

113. *Ibid.*, p. 195.

114. Galano, *Miabanut'iun*, I, 456-461; cf. Öрманian, *Azgapatum*, cols. 1230-1235.

115. *Samuēl Anets'woy Hawak'munk'*, p. 156; Ch'amch'ian, *Patmut'iun Hayots'*, III, 312-313.

116. The details concerning this synod will be found in Galano, *Miabanut'iun*, I, 472-518. For an analysis of its decisions consult Öрманian, *Azgapatum*, cols. 1253-1257.

117. For the text and discussions of the "Libellus" see Charles-Joseph Hefele and H. Leclercq, *Histoire des conciles*, vol. VI, pt. 2 (Paris, 1915), pp. 846-868; Joannes Dominicus Mansi (ed.), *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collection*, 31 vols. (Florence, Venice, 1758-1798), XXV, 1185-1270; F. Tournebize, "Les Cent dix-sept accusations présentées à

Benoît XII contres les Arméniens" in *Revue de l'Orient chrétien*, 11 (1906): 163-181, 274-300, 352-370; Tournebize, *Histoire politique et religieuse de l'Arménie*, pp. 337-400.

118. Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, col. 1310.

119. M. A. van den Oudenrijn, "Uniteurs et Dominicains d'Arménie" in *Oriens Christianus*, 43 (1959): 114, asserts, without any substantiation, that during the second incumbency of Catholicos Hakobos I (1355-1359) the union between the Armenian church and the Roman see became more complete than ever. He adds, however, that this proved to be short lived, not only because the papacy's insistence on the Latinization of the Armenian church had been excessive, but more importantly because the Armenians had accepted the Latin dogmas, canon law, and liturgical precepts with much reluctance.

120. The most authoritative study of the origin and development of the *Fratres Unitores*, as well as their activities in Armenia and elsewhere, will be found in *Oriens Christianus*, 40 (1956): 94-112; 42 (1958): pp. 110-133; 43 (1959): 110-119; 45 (1961): 95-108; 46 (1962): 99-116. See also Galano, *Miabanut'iun*, I, 510-524; Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, cols. 1273-1275, 1278-1279, 1282, 1318, 1350-1353, 1394. For further bibliographical data consult also Karekin Sarkissian, *A Brief Introduction to Armenian Christian Literature* (London, n.d.), pp. 28-29, note 35a.

121. For a more detailed discussion of the wanderings of the Armenian catholicos see consult Ormanian, *Church of Armenia*, pp. 37-41.

122. For the origin and historical development of the see of Aght'amar consult Matt'ëos Izmirlian, *Hayrapetut'iun Hayastaneayts' Arhak'elakan Surb Ekeghets'woy, ew Aght'amar ew Sis* (Constantinople, 1881), pp. 267-424, 675-857, 1006-1068; Nersës Akinian, *Gawazanagirk' Kat'oghikosats' Aght'amaray* (Vienna, 1920); Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, vols. II and III; Mesrob Maksudians', *Hawaakaran Anuants' Kat'ughikosats' (Aght'amaray)*, *Aght'amarean At'orhi Himnarkut'ean Hazarameaki* (915-1915) *Arht'iw* (Etchmiadzin, 1916); K. J. Basmadjian, "Les Catholicos d'Aghthamar" in *Revue de l'Orient chrétien*, ser. III, vol. II (XXII; 1921), pp. 327-329; Kh. L. [Khach'ik Lewonian], "Aght'amaray Kat'oghikosnerë Skizbën minch'ew Ts'verj" in *Biuzandion*, 1900, nos. 1190-1200, 1202-1205; D. Khach'konts', "Aght'amaray Kat'oghikosut'iun" in *Ėndardzak Ėrats'oyts' S. P'rkch'ean Hiwandanots'i Hayots'*, 1903, pp. 240-241; F. Macler, "Le Liber pontificalis des catholicos d'Althamar" in *Journal Asiatique*, 202 (1923): 37-69; Ch'amch'ian, *Patmut'iun Hayots'*, III, 36-37, 395-397, 455-457; [Anonymous], "Kat'oghikosut'iun Aght'amaray: Vichakner" in *Ėndardzak Ėrats'oyts' S. P'rkch'ean Hiwandanots'i Hayots'*, 1903, pp. 359-361.

II. The Armenian Millet under Ottoman Dominion

1. The origin and development of the Ottoman millet system is examined in Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West*, vol. I, pt. 2, pp. 207-261; see also F. W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1929), which emphasizes the status of the Christians under Ottoman rule.

2. For the origins of the Armenian colonization of Constantinople and

the founding of the Armenian millet and patriarchate under the Ottomans consult: Örmānian, *Azgapatum*, cols. 1475, 1484; Örmānian, *Church of Armenia*, pp. 60–61. See also Babgēn Kiulēsērian's *Patmut'iun Kat'oghikosats' Kilikioy, 1441-ēn minch'ew mer Örerē* (Antilias, 1939), pp. 27–29, and his articles in *Ēndardzak Ōrats'oyts' Azgayin Hiwandanots'i*, 1926, pp. 290–295, and *Zuart'nots' Taregirk'*, 1932–1933, pp. 131–132; “K. Polsoy Hay Patriark'ut'ean Tsagumē, ew Arhajin Patriark' Hovakim Ark'episkopos” in *Handes Amsorya*, 38 (Sept.–Oct. 1924): 432–441; Arshak Alpōyajian, “Stampōli ew Shrjakaneru Hayots' Hogewor Varch'ut'ean Skzbnaworut'iunē” in *Shoghakat'* (Istanbul), 1952, pp. 272–277, and “T'iurk'ioy Hayots' Patriark'ut'iun” in *Ēndardzak Ōrats'oyts' Azgayin Hiwandanots'i*, 1908; H. Alojian, “Origins of the Armenian Colony in Constantinople” in *The Armenian Review*, vol. VII, no. 2 (1954), pp. 119–121.

It should be pointed out that there still is a good deal of disagreement among scholars on the exact date of the founding of the Armenian patriarchate of Constantinople, and also considerable confusion about the identity of Hovakim, the first incumbent of the see. The consensus, however, is that Hovakim was appointed to the office of patriarch in 1461, which also is the generally accepted date for the start of the patriarchate.

3. There is as yet no monographic study of the historical development of the Armenian patriarchate of Constantinople. A good deal of vols. II and III of Örmānian's *Azgapatum* concentrates on the history of this important institution. A more recent work is H. Ch. Siruni, “Polis ew ir Derē” in *Ējmiatsin*, vol. XIX (1962), nos. 9, 12, and vol. XX (1963), nos. 1–6 (proceeding), but it is on the whole a disappointing effort.

4. Örmānian, *Church of Armenia*, p. 61. The author also points out (p. 181) that from the beginning the Ottomans placed the Chaldeans, as well, under the authority of the Armenian patriarchate of Constantinople, despite the fact that the profession of faith of this community was not quite the same as that of the other monophysite churches.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 61–62, 117–120.

6. Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West*, vol. I, pt. 2, p. 257.

7. Detailed discussions of these developments will be found in Örmānian, *Azgapatum*, cols. 1509, 1604, 1697, 1733–1734, 1737, 1740, 1785, 1787, 1813; see also Ch'amch'ian, *Patmut'iun Hayots'*, III, 664, 673, 690–692.

8. See A. Ubcini, *Lettres sur la Turquie*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1853–1854), II, 311–314, which gives interesting details about the position of genuine strength which the Armenians had achieved in their dealings with Ottoman provincial governors and the central government.

9. See Babgēn Kiulēsērian (ed.), *Hishatakaran Pasmajian Grigor Patriark'i* (Paris, 1908), pp. 16, 95.

10. Sawalanians', *Patmut'iun Erusaghēmi*, II, 936.

11. It is to be noted that this decree did not completely eliminate the influence of the Armenian bankers, as attested by the fact that in March 1842 the Porte charged twelve Armenian bankers with the responsibility of collecting taxes from the Ottoman provinces in behalf of the imperial authority. For this purpose, the twelve bankers organized two giant corporations, one in Asiatic and the other in European Turkey, but disagreements

within their ranks and suspicions of embezzlement brought about the dissolution of the corporations. (See Öрманian, *Azgapatum*, col. 2529).

12. See details of these regulations in Awetis Pērpērian, *Patmut'iun Hayots'* (Constantinople, 1871), pp. 319-321.

13. Consult Öрманian, *Azgapatum*, col. 2638, for the organization and functions of these auxiliary councils.

14. For works dealing with the Ottoman Tanzimat consult: Türkiye Cumhuriyeti, Maaref Vekaleti, *Tanzimat*, vol. I (Istanbul, 1940), which is an important collection of articles on all aspects of the Tanzimat; G. Rosen, *Geschichte der Türkei vom Siege der Reform im Jahre 1826 bis zum Pariser Traktat vom Jahre 1856*, 2 vols. (Berlin-Leipzig, 1866-1867); F. Eichmann, *Die Reformen des osmanischen Reiches* (Berlin, 1858); E. Engelhardt, *La Turquie et le Tanzimat*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1882-1884); George Young, *Corps de droit ottoman*, 7 vols. (Oxford, 1905-1906), which contains official French translations of nineteenth century Ottoman codes and regulations; F. E. Bailey, *British Policy and the Turkish Reform Movement* (Cambridge, 1942); Reşat Kaynar, *Mustafa Reşit Paşa ve Tanzimat* (Ankara, 1954); Enver Ziya Karal, "Zarif Paşa'nın Hatıratı, 1816-1862" in *Belleken*, 4 (1940): 443-494, containing memoirs of the Tanzimat men and period; 'Abdurrahman Şeref, *Tarih Musahabeleri* (Istanbul, 1339 A.H.), comprising articles on important subjects and individuals concerned with the Tanzimat; and Roderic H. Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire, 1856-1876* (Princeton, 1963).

15. The text of the official instruction to the Armenian millet will be found in H. F. B. Lynch, *Armenia: Travels and Studies*, 2 vols. (London, 1901), II, 445.

16. The details of these two draft regulations appear in Biuzand K'ēch'ian, *Patmut'iun Surb P'rkch'i Hiwandanots'in Hayots'* (Constantinople, 1888), pp. 94-95, 138; see also Öрманian, *Azgapatum*, col. 2707.

17. See text in *Azgayin Sahmanadrut'iun Hayots'* (Constantinople, 1860); French trans. by M. E. Prud'homme in *Revue de l'Orient, de l'Algérie et des colonies*, July and August, 1862.

18. The important roles of these young men, notably Nikoghayos Palian, Serovbē Vich'ēnian (Servich'ēn), Hakob Krchikian, and Nahapet Rhusinian, in the formulation and adoption of the National Constitution are discussed in A. Sarukhan, *Haykakan Khndirn ew Azgayin Sahmanadrut'iunē T'iur-k'iayum 1860-1910*, I (Tiflis, 1912), 244-247.

19. For the official Turkish text, see *Dustur* (Istanbul, 1289 A.H.), II, 938-961; the Armenian text will be found in *Azgayin Sahmanadrut'iun* (Constantinople, 1863); French trans. in George Young, *Corps de droit ottoman*, II, 79-92; and English trans. in Lynch, *Armenia*, II, 448-467.

20. The discrepancies contained in the constitutions of 1860 and of 1863 are adequately discussed in Öрманian, *Azgapatum*, col. 2730; cf. also Sarukhan, *Haykakan Khndirn*, I, 26-27.

21. For an analytical examination of the historical and juridical significance of the Armenian National Constitution consult Mekhitar B. Dadian, *La Société arménienne contemporaine, les Arméniens de l'empire ottoman* (Paris, 1867). See also Télémaque Tutundjian, *Du pacte politique entre*

l'Etat Ottoman et les nations non musulmanes de la Turquie; Avec un exposé de la Constitution Arménienne de 1863 (Lausanne, 1904).

22. For the role of the laity in the administration of the Armenian church consult Ormanian, *Church of Armenia*, pp. 133-137.

23. Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, col. 2731.

24. For discussions of the administration of the other millets of the Ottoman empire consult George Young, *Corps de droit ottoman*, II, 12-69, 97-165.

25. For an interesting analysis of this see Gustave Rolin-Jaequemyns, *Armenia, the Armenians, and the Treaties* (London, 1891), pp. 16-20.

26. An exhaustive study of the historical development of the Armenian constitutional system in the Ottoman empire will be found in Arshak Alpöyöjian, "Azgayin Sahmanadrut'iunē, ir Tsagumē ew Kirarhut'iunē" in *Azgayin Hiwanda-nots'i Endhanur Ōrats'oyts'* (Constantinople, 1910).

27. Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, col. 2934.

28. For the political impact of the Armenian Question on the millet, and also for the texts of letters exchanged between the Porte and the patriarchate respecting the National Constitution, see Young, *Corps de droit ottoman*, II, 78-79, 92-97.

III. The Historical Evolution and Economic Status of the Communities in Syria

1. For details concerning the Armenian colonization of Aleppo during the Ottoman period consult Siurmēian, *Patmut'iun Halēpi Hayots'*, III, 67, 103, 116, 120, 680-682, 694-695, 728-729, 770, 894.

2. On the Capitulations see: Nasim Sousa, *The Capitulatory Régime of Turkey* (Baltimore, 1933); G. Pélissié du Rausas, *Le Régime des capitulations dans l'Empire ottoman*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1902-1905); P. Masson, *Histoire du commerce français dans le Levant au XVII^e siècle* (Paris, 1896), and *Histoire du commerce français dans le Levant au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1911); A. C. Wood, *History of the Levant Company* (London, 1935); P. M. Brown, *Foreigners in Turkey; Their Judicial Status* (Princeton, 1914).

3. See in particular the works by Masson cited above, note 2.

4. For the economic role of Aleppo, its industries and international trade, see: J. Sauvaget, *Alep*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1941); Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West*, vol. I, pt. 1, Chap. VI; article "Halab" by M. Sobernheim in *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (old ed.). For Aleppo's trade with the interior, see F. Charles-Roux, *Les Echelles de Syrie et de Palestine au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1928).

5. Siurmēian, *Patmut'iun Halēpi Hayots'*, III, 270-271.

6. Regarding Old Julfa consult: Hambardzum Arhak'elian, *Parskastani Hayerē, Nrant's Ant'sealē, Nerkan ew Apagan* (Vienna, 1911), pp. 27f; G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (Cambridge, Eng., 1905), p. 205; William Ouseley, *Travels in Various Countries of the East; More Particularly Persia*, 3 vols. (London, 1819-1823), III, 429-433; Ker Porter, *Reisen in Georgien, Persien und Armenien* (Weimar, 1823), I, 251, and II, 561f; Dubois de Montpéroux, *Voyage autour du Caucase . . . en Géorgie, Arménie* (Paris, 1839); Ritter's *Erdkunde* (Bonn, 1956),

X, 520, 580, 597, 601, 609; *Zeitschrift für armenische Philologie* (Marburg, 1904), II, 63.

7. Regarding New Julfa see: Y. T'. Tēr Hovhannēsians', *Patmut'iun Nor Jughayu or Haspahan*, 2 vols. (New Julfa, 1880); T'. T. S., *Nor Jugha kēs Darov harhaj; kam, Hishoghut'iunk' Ant'seal Zhamanakats'* (Vienna, 1909); Arhak'elian, *Parskastani Hayerē*; Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 205; Ouseley, *Travels*, III, 46f; Ker Porter, *Reisen in Georgien, Persien und Armenien*, I, 507f; Charles Texier, *Description de l'Arménie, la Perse et la Mésopotamie*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1842-1852), II, 116f; le P. Raphael du Mans, *Estat de la Perse*, ed. Schefer (Paris, 1890), pp. 182f; le P. Dessignes, *Lettres édifiantes* (Orléans, 1879), I, 494f; Ritter's *Erdkunde* (Bonn, 1955), IX, 47-49, and X, 539, 623, 632; J. H. Petermann, *Reisen im Orient*, 2 vols. (n.p., 1865), II, 280f; J. de Morgan, *Mission scientifique en Perse*, I (Paris, 1894), 409; A. Petermann's *Geographischer Mitteilungen* (Gotha, 1907), p. 5; E. Aubin, *La Perse* (Paris, 1908), pp. 288f.

8. For a study of the Armenian colonization of the Far East see Hordanan Tēr Karapetian, *Netrlantakan Arewelean Hndkastanay Hay Gaghut'i Patmut'iunē, Skizbēn minch' Mer Örerē* (Jerusalem, 1937).

9. For a history of the Armenian colony of Venice see Alishan, *Hay-Venet*; and for the colony of Holland, A. Sarukhan, *Hollandan ew Hayerē XVI-XIX Darerum* (Vienna, 1926).

10. Siurmēian, *Patmut'iun Halēpi Hayots'*, III, 409.

11. *Ibid.*, III, 281.

12. For a detailed discussion of Petik's and Sanos' commercial enterprises consult *ibid.*, III, 271-321, 352-378. For some unknown reason, Petik was beheaded, presumably by an edict of the Ottoman sultan, in the citadel of Aleppo in 1632.

13. *Ibid.*, II, 531-533.

14. *Ibid.*, III, 386, 406, 413, 415, 973.

15. *Ibid.*, III, 738. See also M. Streck-F. Taeschner's article "Arabkir," *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (new ed.), p. 603.

16. See M. Sobernheim's article "Halab" in *ibid.* (old ed.), p. 228.

17. A. Tēr-Hovhannēsians', "Karch Chanaparhordut'iun Hasoris" in *Siōn*, Sept.-Oct. 1868, pp. 211-214, 229-231.

18. The society's official announcement will be found in AA, vol. XX, nos. 613-617 (Dec. 28, 1859-Feb. 19, 1860).

19. See texts of the official declaration and bylaws of the society in "K'iurk'jianōf Hovhannēs Aghayi Arhajarkut'iunē Azgayin Hraparakakan Dastiarakut'iun Hastatelu i Kilikia" in *Tsiln Awarayri*, vol. I, no. 7 (July 1866), pp. 408-418.

20. For a discussion of the functions of the Armenian Aleppine merchants in the nineteenth century consult Tigran P'iranian, "Suriahay Vacharakānē Erēk ew Aysōr" in *Suriahay Tarets'oyts'*, 1924 (Cairo), pp. 212-217.

21. Siurmēian, *Patmut'iun Halēpi Hayots'*, III, 421-422, 680-682, 701-702, 972-977.

22. *Ibid.*, III, 680-682.

23. For specific references to historic and modern Armenian settlements in northwestern Syria see Paul Jacquot, *Antioche*, 3 vols. (Beirut, 1931).

24. For the Armenian settlements of Jabal 'Aqra consult Alpēr S. T'ēmīrian, *K'ēsap* 1909–1946 (Beirut, 1946); K'ēsapi Usumnasirats' Miut'ean Pēyruṭ'i Masnachiugh, *Alpom K'ēsapi ew Shṛjakayits'* (Beirut, 1955).

25. Jacquot, *Antioche*, III, 501–502; T'ēmīrian, *K'ēsap*, p. 42; *Alpom K'ēsapi*, pp. 8, 13.

26. G. Gappēnjian, "Suria — K'aghak'akan, Krōna-Patmakan, Krt'akan ew Tntesakan Tesakētov" in *Tat'ew*, 3 (1927): 249–250.

27. See text of the report, "Storagruṭ'iun Ayts'elut'ean Berioy Nahangin Giughōrēits'" in AA, vol. XXVII, no. 808 (June 24, 1867).

28. Suk'ias Ēp'rikian, *Bnashkharhik Barharan*, 2 vols. (Venice, 1900–1905), I, 51.

29. *Ibid.*, pp. 220–222.

30. Tēr-Hovhannēsians', "Karch Chanaparhordut'iun" in *Siōn*, Oct. 1868, p. 231.

31. *Ibid.*, Aug. 1868, p. 174; Siurmēian, *Patmut'iun Halēpi Hayots'*, III, 745–746.

32. See text of report in "Jēpēl Musayi Hayabnak Giugherē" in *Awetaber*, Oct. 1, 1910, pp. 914–915, 944.

33. For discussions of the economic conditions of the Armenians in Jabal 'Aqra consult *Alpom K'ēsapi*, pp. 10, 20; T'ēmīrian, *K'ēsap*, pp. 35–36; *Siōn*, Oct. 1866, pp. 151–154.

34. See "Lat'ak'ioy Hayabnak Giughōrēits' Storagruṭ'iunē ew Giughats'wots' Ardi Vichakē" in *Siōn*, July 1866, pp. 97–102.

35. See text of the colophon in L. S. Khach'ikyan, XV *Dari Hayeren Dzerhagreri Hishatakaranner*, 1401–1450, pt. i (Erevan, 1955), pp. 590–591.

36. For the commercial and economic position of Damascus consult: J. Sauvaget, "Esquisse d'une histoire de la ville de Damas" in *Revue des études islamiques*, 1934, pt. iv; Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West*, vol. I, pt. i, chap. VI; I. al-Ma'luf, "Industries of Damascus" in *Journal of the Damascus Chamber of Commerce* (Arabic; Damascus, 1922); article "Dimashk" by N. Elisséeff in *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (new ed.), pp. 277–291.

37. Elisséeff, "Dimashk," p. 288; Philip K. Hitti, *Lebanon in History* (London, 1957), pp. 438–439.

38. See text in *Siōn*, May 1875, pp. 116–117.

39. Sisak H. Varzhapetian, *Hayerē Libanani Mēj* (Beirut, 1951), pp. 8–9.

40. For discussions of the hegemony of the Ma'nids and the Shihabs consult: Paolo Carali, *Le Liban et l'empire Ottoman au temps de Fakhraddin II al-Ma'ni, 1590–1635* ([Cairo], 1952); Carali, *Fakhr ad-Din II, principe del Libano e la corte di Toscana, 1605–1635*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1936–1938); F. Wüstenfeld, *Fakhr ed-Din der Drusenfürst und seine Zeitgenossen* (Göttingen, 1886); Bulus Qara'li, *Fakhr al-Din al-Ma'ni al-Thani* (Harisa, 1937); Michel Chebli, *Fakhriddine II Maan, prince du Liban* (Beirut, 1946); Ahmad al-Khalidi al-Safadi, *Ta'rikh al-Amir Fakhr al-Din*, ed. Asad Rustum and Fu'ad A. al-Bustani (Beirut, 1936); G. Mariti, *Istoria di Faccardino grand-emir dei Drusi* (Leghorn, 1787); Haydar A. al-Shihabi, *Lubnan fi 'Ahd al-Umara' al-Shihabiyyin*, ed. Asad Rustum and Fu'ad A. al-Bustani (Beirut, 1933); Haydar Ahmad Shihab, *Le Liban à l'époque des*

Amirs Chihab, Arabic text ed. by A. Rustum and F. E. Boustany, 3 vols. (Beirut, 1933); Hitti, *Lebanon in History*, pp. 371-397, 412-432; Hitti, *History of Syria*, pp. 678-696.

41. Comte de Volney, *Voyage en Syrie et en Egypte*, 2 vols. (2d ed.; Paris, 1787), II, 68.

42. MS. no. 669 of the Armenian Catholic monastery at Zmmar (Lebanon) written by Andr  as Aghek'sandrian, superior-general of the same institution (1880-1909). The passage quoted here is reproduced by H. T'  p'jian, "Hayut'iun   Suriy   M  j" in *Hayastani Koch'nak*, vol. XXVIII, no. 24 (June 16, 1928), p. 747.

43. On the Maronite community and church see: Fausto (Murhij) Naironi, *Dissertatio de origine, nomine, ac religione Marionitharum* (Rome, 1679); Bernard G. al-Ghaziri, *Rome et l'Eglise syrienne-maronite* (Paris, 1906); Pierre Dib, *L'Eglise maronite* (Paris, 1930); Tobias Anaissi, *Bullarium Maronitarum* (Rome, 1911); Paul Abraham, *The Maronites of Lebanon* (Wheeling, 1931); Pierre Raphael, *The Role of the Maronites in the Return of the Oriental Churches* (Youngstown, Ohio, 1946); Kamal S. Salibi, "The Maronite Church in the Middle Ages and Its Union with Rome" in *Oriens Christianus*, 42 (1958): 92-104.

44. Raphael, *The Role of the Maronites*, pp. 32-33, 37-38, 41-42, 88.

45. Tannus al-Shidyaq, *Akhbar al-A'yan fi Jabal Lubnan* (Beirut, 1859), pp. 85, 201-203.

46. MS. no. 669 of Zmmar, cited in note 42 above. For a discussion of Lebanese families of Armenian origin consult Varzhapetian, *Hayer   Libanani m  j*, pp. 239-258.

47. Varzhapetian, *Hayer   Libanani m  j*, pp. 260-261.

48. T'  p'jian, "Hayuti'un   Suriy   M  j," p. 873.

49. Mesrop T'  rzian, *Zmmarhu Hay Vank'  , 1749-1949* (Beirut, 1949), p. 77.

50. AA, vol. XVIII, no. 559 (Nov. 29, 1857).

51. For accounts of the Lebanese civil strife consult Charles H. Churchill, *The Druzes and the Maronites under the Turkish Rule from 1840 to 1860* (London, 1862); Iskandar Abkariyus, "Nawadir al-Zaman fi Malahim Jabal Lubnan" (MS.), trans. J. F. Scheltema, *The Lebanon in Turmoil: Syria and the Powers in 1860* (New Haven, 1920); Antun D. al-Aqiqi, *Thawrah wa-Fi  nah fi Lubnan* (Beirut, 1938). For consular and other official reports see British Foreign Office, *Correspondence Relative to the Affairs of Syria*, pt. i, 1843, 1844, 1845 (London, 1845); *Correspondence Relative to the Affairs of the Levant*, pt. ii (London, 1841); *Correspondence Relating to the Affairs of Syria*, June 1860 (London, 1860). Consult also Antoine Rabbath, *Documents in  dits pour servir    l'histoire du christianisme en Orient* (Paris, 1910), II, 163-166; I. de Testa, *Recueil des trait  s de la porte ottomane*, III (Paris, 1866), 174f, and VI (Paris, 1884), 67-101; Hitti, *Lebanon in History*, pp. 433-441.

52. Henry H. Jessup, *Fifty-Three Years in Syria* (New York, 1910), p. 204.

53. See text in *British and Foreign State Papers, 1860-61*, LI (London, 1868), 288-292.

54. For text of the revised version of the *r  glement* see Thomas E. Hol-

land, *The European Concert in the Eastern Question* (Oxford, 1885), pp. 212-218.

55. *Histoire de la législation des anciens Germains*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1845).

56. For a biographical study of Daud Pasha consult Ep'rem Pōghosian, *Karapet Art'in Pasha Tawutian, Kusakal ew Endhanur Karhavarich Libanani* (1816-1873), *Keank'n u Gortsunēut'ünē* (Vienna, 1949). See also Varzhapetian, *Hayerē Libanani mēj*, pp. 192-213; Rufus Anderson, *History of the Missions of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to the Oriental Churches*, 2 vols. (Boston, 1872), II, 357, 369, 380; Larousse, *Grand dictionnaire universel du XIX^e siècle*, VI (Paris, 1870), 100; *La Grande Encyclopédie; inventaire raisonné des sciences, des lettres et des arts*, XIII (Paris, n.d.), 919; Kamal S. Salibi, article "Da'ud Pasha" in *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (new ed.), pp. 184-185; Butrus al-Bustani, *Kitāb da'irat al-Ma'arif*, VII (Beirut, 1883), 576-577; Sh. Sami Frasheri, *Kamus al-A'lam*, III (Istanbul, 1308 A.H.), 2111; Mehmed Süreyya, *Sid'ill-i 'Osmani*, IV (Istanbul, 1308 A.H.), 874; M. Joupain, *La Question du Liban; étude d'histoire diplomatique et de droit international* (Paris, 1908), p. 484; Gustave Vapereau, *Dictionnaire universel des contemporains* (fifth ed., Paris, 1880), p. 507. Upon his return to Constantinople in 1868, Da'ud Pasha was appointed telegraph, post, and public works minister in the Ottoman council of ministers. He died in Biarritz, France, on November 4, 1873.

57. AA, nos. 652, 656 (1861).

58. Varzhapetian, *Hayerē Libanani mēj*, pp. 210-211.

59. Hitti, *Lebanon in History*, pp. 445-446.

60. For a brief biographical study of Guyumjian's tenure as governor-general of Lebanon consult Varzhapetian, *Hayerē Libanani mēj*, pp. 215-224. A detailed discussion of the Ottomans' direct rule in Lebanon during World War I will be found in George-Samnē, *La Syrie*, pp. 209-232.

61. Among these Armenian merchants, Hanna Ghukas, who settled at Beirut in 1800, amassed great wealth by trading in silk; Joseph Khayyat operated a large lumber enterprise; Nasrallah Khayyat, in addition to his mercantile firm, also operated a bank and had large property holdings in the principal Bourj Square; and Nigula Farajallah, Constantine Farajallah, and several other prosperous merchants operated large businesses. (For brief biographical sketches of these individuals see Varzhapetian, *Hayerē Libanani mēj*, pp. 238-249.)

62. The biographical data on many of these merchants will be found in *ibid.*, pp. 288-429.

63. For a firsthand account of the Armenian role in the commerce of Beirut and also the trades in which the local Armenians engaged see Mihran K'ehaian in *ibid.*, pp. 432-433.

64. *Ibid.*, pp. 283-284.

65. Brief biographies of several of these functionaries are given in *ibid.*, pp. 289, 329-330, 342-343, 352-353, 376, 380-381.

66. *Ibid.*, pp. 238-239, 248.

67. In appreciation of his distinguished achievements, Bishara Mu-

handiz was decorated not only by Ottoman sultans but also by the French, German, Italian, Austrian, and Brazilian governments. A brief biography will be found in *ibid.*, pp. 183-190.

68. *Ibid.*, pp. 408-409.

69. AA, vol. IV, no. 172 (Jan. 7, 1844).

70. G. K'ēōmīurjian, "Hayots' Derē T'iurk' Mshakoyt'in Mēj" in *Ēndard-zak Tarets'oyts' Azgayin Hiwandanots'i*, 1931 (Constantinople, 1931), pp. 138-139.

71. Varzhapetian, *Hayerē Libanani mēj*, pp. 349-350.

72. *Ibid.*, pp. 72-89; Anderson, *History of Missions*, I, 376-377; Gregory M. Wortabet, *Syria, and the Syrians; or, Turkey in the Dependencies*, 2 vols. (London, 1856), I, 270.

73. For more detailed information regarding this hospital and its founder see Siurmēian, *Patmut'ūn Halēpi Hayots'*, II, 829-832; "Dr. Asatur Alt'ūnian" in *Hayastani Koch'nak*, 1950, pp. 156-157, 179-182.

74. The census of Armenian graduates from various medical schools will be found in A. N. Mezipurian, *Hay ew Tsagumov Hay Bzhishkner, Aybubenakan Anuanats'ank*, 1688-1940 (Constantinople, 1940). Brief biographies of a number of the graduates from the American University of Beirut and the Université Saint Joseph appear in Varzhapetian, *Hayerē Libanani mēj*, pp. 288-429.

75. AA, vol. VII, no. 286 (May 30, 1847).

76. *Ibid.*, X, no. 352 (Dec. 9, 1849); Sawalanians', *Patmut'ūn Eru-saghēmi*, II, 1048. A contemporary account claims that Misak' Misak'ian and his brother Gēorg, who in fact acted as the former's deputy at Beirut, contributed generously toward the welfare of the poor in all the cities whose customs were under their jurisdiction.

77. With the removal of Reshit Pasha from the office of grand vizier, J'ezairlian's fortunes were confiscated by the imperial authorities in 1859 and he died penniless two years later. For his brief biography see Vahan Zardarian, *Hishatakarān; Hay Erewelineru Kensagrut'unnerē*, 1512-1912, 2 vols. (Constantinople, 1910-1911), I, 25-28.

78. AA, vol. XVIII, no. 554 (Sept. 20, 1857); vol. XVIII, no. 557 (Nov. 1, 1857); vol. XIX, no. 589 (Jan. 23, 1859).

79. Varzhapetian, *Hayerē Libanani mēj*, pp. 256-257.

80. AA, vol. XXI, no. 645 (March 25, 1861).

81. From 1849 to 1866 Hakob P'askal Muratian served as first secretary and officer in charge of correspondence in the Austro-Hungarian consulate at Jerusalem. On a visit to Jerusalem in 1869 Emperor Franz Josef elevated him to the rank of vice-consul, and in 1871 he was appointed Austrian consul at Jaffa, a post which he held with distinction until his death in 1905. The Russian government, moreover, awarded him the Stanislaw order in 1871 in appreciation of his protection of Russian nationals at Jerusalem during the Crimean War. (For further information regarding Muratian's service consult *Siōn*, vol. I, nos. 5 and 12, 1866; vol. III, no. 8, 1868; vol. IV, no. 11, 1869; vol. V, no. 8, 1871; vol. VI, no. 12, 1871; see also Agha-wnuni, *Miabank' ew Ayt'seluk'*, p. 331; Sawalanians', *Patmut'ūn Eru-*

saghēmi, II, 1171–1172). In addition, the Austrian consulate at Jerusalem had in its employ Hakob Gēorgian (see *Siōn*, vol. VI, no. 1, January 1871, p. 24), and also Harut'iun Galp'akjian serving as interpreter and officer in charge of correspondence (see *ibid.*, vol. XI, no. 5, May 1876, p. 119). And, finally, Eli Farajallah served for many years in the capacity of chief interpreter at the Austrian consulate-general in Beirut (see Varzhapetian, *Hayerē Libanani mēj*, pp. 240–241).

From 1843 until 1872 Hakob Srapion Muratian held the posts first of vice-consul and then of consul of the Prussian government at Jaffa (see AA, vol. III, no. 139, May 21, 1843; vol. XV, no. 492, April 22, 1855; *Siōn*, vol. VII, no. 2, Feb. 1872, pp. 47–48). His cousin, Srapion Muratian, held the positions of chief interpreter and secretary to the same government's consulate at Jerusalem (see *Siōn*, vol. VII, no. 2, Feb. 1872, pp. 47–48); Gēorg Muratian served as interpreter in the same service at Jaffa (see Ukhtawor, *Alēluea Herusaghēm*, Constantinople, 1903, p. 29).

In the 1850's the U. S. vice-consul at Jaffa was Hakob S. Muratian (see AA, vol. XII, no. 410, Feb. 29, 1852; Wortabet, *Syria and the Syrians*, II, 160), while a similar post was held by Ghazaros Srapionian at Jerusalem (see *Siōn*, vol. I, no. 1, Jan. 1866, p. 13). Iskandar Abkariyus (1826–1885), author of historical and literary works in Arabic, also served as U. S. consul at Beirut. For a time and simultaneously with the above, he also acted in the capacity of consul for the Portuguese government in the same city (see Varzhapetian, pp. 133–134). Moreover, Hakob Gēorgian was awarded a knighthood from the Spanish government in appreciation of his "many years of dedicated and loyal service" in the consulate at Jerusalem (see *Siōn*, vol. VI, no. 1, Jan. 1866, p. 24).

Two former bishops of the Armenian patriarchate of Jerusalem, namely, Dionysius Karapetian and Hakob Agha Abgarian (Liustrats'i), who renounced their clerical oath in 1824/25, were appointed consular agents of Naples and Britain, respectively, at Sidon (see Sawalanians', II, 951; Hovhannēsians', *Zhamanakagrakan Patmut'iun*, II, 395, 417). It is alleged that Hakob's opponents obtained from the Porte a *firman* for his arrest, which however was not carried out; but eventually the British ambassador at Constantinople removed him from his office of consul at Sidon (see Wortabet, *Syria and the Syrians*, I, 52). The American missionary William Goodell affirms that the aforementioned *firman* was obtained in 1826 by the Armenian patriarch not only against Hakob, but also against Dionysius Karapetian and Gregory Wortabet, both of whom were in Goodell's missionary service (see E. D. G. Prime, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire; or, Memoirs of Rev. William Goodell*, New York, 1876, p. 193). After acting as consul of England at Sidon until 1829, Hakob continued to serve as an important functionary of the British consulate at Beirut. He is said to have been a prominent figure ranking in the class of governors, and his influence and prestige is attested by the fact that, after building a residence outside the walls of Beirut, he had a gate opened which to date bears the name "Bab Ya'qub." (For his brief biography see Varzhapetian, pp. 114–118.) From 1833 until his death in 1850 Dionysius Karapetian, on the other hand, served as the director of the English post office at Beirut (see *ibid.*, p. 65). Moreover, in the 1860's an Antiochene Armenian, Sargis

K'ēōsēian, functioned as consul for Britain at Antioch and Suwaydiyah (see AA, vol. XXII, no. 678, June 30, 1862). Another Armenian, John (Yuhanna) Abkariyus, son of Hakob Abgarian and a former consul for Holland in Egypt, was also employed as an adviser to the British consulate at Beirut (see Varzhapetian, pp. 137-143). In the 1880's Nikoghos Tēr-Margarian served as chief interpreter in the British consulate at Aleppo, whose roster of consuls included Henry Zohrap Longworth, born of an Armenian mother, who served from 1906-1909 (see Siurmēian, *Patmut'ün Halēpi Hayots'*, II, 600, 606). Finally, Murat Harut'iunian held for an undetermined number of years the consular office at Jaffa for both Sardinia and Naples until his death in 1842 (see Hovhannēsians', II, 445-446; Aghawnuni, p. 311).

82. Aghawnuni, *Miabanġ ew Ayts'eluk'*, p. 216; cf. Varzhapetian, *Hayerē Libanani mēj*, pp. 334-335.

83. During his tenure of office as Ottoman consul-general to England, Eli Farajallah was often received in audience by Queen Victoria; and in appreciation of his meritorious service he was not only awarded the Osmaniye medal by the Ottoman sultan, but also the order of St. Gregory by Pope Leo XIII. See Varzhapetian, *Hayerē Libanani mēj*, p. 241.

IV. The Cultural Status of the Armenian Communities

1. See Manuk Abeghyan, *Hayots' Hin Grakanut'yan Patmut'yun*, vol. I (Erevan, 1944); and the recent study by A. A. Bedikian, *The Golden Age in the Fifth Century: An Introduction to Armenian Literature in Perspective* (New York, 1963).

2. The Mekhitarist order was founded by the monk Mkhit'ar of Sebastia, who, fleeing the persecutions of the Armenian patriarchate of Constantinople, proceeded to Modon on the Morea where, together with fifteen followers, he erected a monastery in 1706. During their brief sojourn there, these monks organized themselves into a Benedictine order. Anticipating the Turkish invasion, in 1715 Mkhit'ar and some of his followers sailed for Venice, where they learned of the capture of Modon and the destruction of their monastery by the Ottomans. In 1717, the Senate of Venice having granted them the tiny island of S. Lazzaro with its church, Mkhit'ar transferred his order there. Following his death in 1749, the community at Venice came to be known as the Mkhit'arian (Mekhitarist) order. In 1772 there was a split within the ranks of the congregation, the disaffected faction withdrawing to Trieste and afterwards to Vienna, where the second Mekhitarist order has since maintained its headquarters.

There are a number of biographies of Mkhit'ar, the more important among which are: Hovhannēs T'orosian, *Vark' Mkhit'aray Abbayi Sebastats'woy* (Venice, 1901; reprinted 1933); Step'anos Agonts', *Patmut'ün Mkhit'aray Abbayi* (Venice, 1810); Hovhan Awgerian, *Hamarhōt Vark' Tsarhayin Astutsoy Mkhit'aray* (Venice, 1914); Minas Nurikhan, *Il servo di Dio Abate Mechitar; sua vita e suoi tempi* (Venice, 1914), which also has English and French versions both published at Venice in 1915 and 1922, respectively. The rules of the Venetian Mekhitarist order will be found in *Sahmanadrut'iunk'k' Miabanut'ean Miandzants' Hayots' Mkhi-*

t'areants', i Kargē S. Antoni Abbayi (Venice, 1896), another edition with Armenian and Latin texts, publ. in 1929. Works dealing with the history of the same institution include: Pasquale Aucher, *Notizia sulla Congregazione dei PP. Mekhitaristi di Venezia*, with Armenian and Italian texts (Venice, 1819); Le Vaillant de Florival, *Les Mékhitaristes de St. Lazare, avec un supplément à l'histoire et à la littérature arméniennes* (Venice, 1841; reprinted 1856); Aegidius Hennemann, *Das Kloster der Armenischen Mönche auf der Insel S. Lazzaro bei Venedig, historische Skizze* (Venice, 1872; reprinted 1881); Mkhitar; Mkhitar'ean Miabanut'ean Hastatut'ean (1701-1901) *Erkhariurameakin Arht'iw Hratarakuats* (Venice, 1901); Hishata-karan Mkhitar'ean Miabanut'ean *Erkhariuramekin* (Venice, 1902). The literary accomplishments of the Venetian order are studied in Hovhannēs Alan, *Mkhitar'ean Grakanut'ean Handēp* (Venice, 1902); and Barsegh Sargisian, *Erkhariurameay Grakan Gortsunēut'iun ew Nshanawor Gortsich'ner Venetkoy Mkhitar'ean Miabanut'ean* (Venice, 1905). Sargisian discusses the institution's educational history in *Erkhariurameay Krt'akan Gortsunēut'iun Venetkoy Mkhitar'ean Miabanut'ean* (Venice, 1936). A brief history of the Mekhitarist congregation of Vienna will be found in Nersēs Akinian, *Aknark mē Viennakan Mkhitar'ean Miabanut'ean Grakan Gortsunēut'ean Vray* (Vienna, 1912); see also the same author's *Dasakan Hayarēnn ew Viennakan Mkhitar'ean Dprots'ē* (Vienna, 1932), which deals primarily with the institution's literary and scholastic achievements.

3. The most comprehensive and authoritative history of Armenian printing will be found in Garegin Levonyan, *Hay Girk'ē ev Tpagrut'yan Arvestē; Patmakan Tesut'yun Skzbits' minch'ev XX Darē* (Erevan, 1946). See also Garegin Zarbhanalian, *Patmut'iun Haykakan Tparanats' ew Tpagrut'eants'* (Venice, 1898); Lēō [Arhak'el Babakhanian], *Haykakan Tpagrut'iun*, 2 vols. (Tiflis, 1901); *Patmut'iun Haykakan Tpagrut'ean Skzbnaworut'enēn minch'ew arh mez* (Venice, 1895); A. S. Babayan, "Hay Tpagrut'yan 450 Tarin" in *Patma-Banasirakan Handes*, vol. I, no. 20 (1963), pp. 31-44; Rh. A. Ishkhanyan, "Hnatip Grk'eri Norahayt Nmuysner" in *Haykakan SSR Gitut'yunneri Akademiyai Teghekagir*, no. 2 (1963), pp. 65-78.

4. Regarding this printing press, consult Levonyan, *Hay Girk'ē*, pp. 101-125. See also F. J. Dubiez, "Hayeren Grk'eri Tpagrut'yunē Amsterdamum XVII-XVIII Darerum," trans. into Armenian by S. Mkrtch'yan in *Haykakan SSR Gitut'yunneri Akademiyai Teghekagir*, no. 2 (1963), pp. 83-92.

5. For details concerning the history of Mekhitarist printing presses at Trieste, Venice, and Vienna consult Levonyan, *Hay Girk'ē*, pp. 161-165, 198-206.

6. The most comprehensive and authoritative history of Armenian journalism will be found in A. B. Karinyan, *Aknarkner Hay Parberakan Mamuli Patmut'yan*, 2 vols. (Erevan, 1956). See also Garegin Levonyan, *Liakatar Tsuts'ak Hay Lragrut'yan Skzbits' minch'ev mer Orerē, 1794-1934* (Erevan, 1934); Grigoris Galēm'earian, *Patmut'iun Hay Lragrut'ean, 1796-1860* (Vienna, 1893); Mkrtich' Pöturian, *Hay Mamulē Tasnewhing Taruan mēj, 1894-1909* (Venice, 1910). For a comprehensive bibliography of Armenian periodical literature consult Hovhannes Petrosyan, *Hay Parberakan Mamuli Bibliografia, 1794-1956*, 2 vols. (Erevan, 1956-1957).

7. Petrosyan, *Hay Parberakan Mamuli Bibliografia*, I, xi, and II, x.
8. For general histories of Armenian literature consult Manuk Abeghyan, *Hayots' Hin Grakanut'yan Patmut'yun*, 2 vols. (Erevan, 1944-1946); Garegin Zarbhanalian, *Patmut'yun Hayeren Hin ew Nor Dprut'eants'*, 2 vols. (Venice, 1865-1905); N. Aghbalian, *Patmut'yun Hayots' Grakanut'ean* (Beirut, 1947); Hiranth Thorossian, *Histoire de la littérature arménienne, des origines jusqu'à nos jours* (Paris, [1951]).
9. The most important work on the historical development of the Armenian language is H. Acharhyan, *Hayots' Lezvi Patmut'yun*, 2 vols. (Erevan, 1940-1951). Cf. also the following studies: G. A. Ghap'ants'yan, *Hayots' Lezvi Patmut'yun: Hin Shrjan* (Erevan, 1961); E. B. Aghayan, *Hay Lezvabanut'yan Patmut'yun*, 2 vols. (Erevan, 1945-1962); S. Gh. Chazar-yan, *Hayots' Grakan Lezvi Patmut'yun*, vol. I (Erevan, 1961).
10. The most authoritative study of Philhellene Armenian will be found in H. Manandian, *Hunaban Dprots'ë ew nra Zargats'man Shrjannerë* (Vienna, 1928).
11. Acharhyan, *Hayots' Lezvi Patmut'yun*, II, 296-323.
12. For the most authoritative study of Middle Armenian consult Josef Karst, *Historische Grammatik des Kilikisch-Armenischen* (Strasbourg, 1901). See also Ghewond Hovnanian, *Hetazotut'iunk' Nakhneats' Rhamkoreni Vray*, 2 vols. (Vienna, 1897); A. Aytënian, *K'nnakan K'erakanut'yun Ardi Hayeren Lezvi* (Vienna, 1866); Acharhyan, *Hayots' Lezvi Patmut'yun*, II, 226-254.
13. For a history of modern Armenian literature consult Mesrop Janashian, *Patmut'yun Ardi Hay Grakanut'ean* (Venice, 1953).
14. For histories of Armenian education see Kevork A. Sarafian, *History of Education in Armenia* (Los Angeles, 1930); Arshak Alpöyajian, *Patmut'yun Hay Dprots'i* (Cairo, 1946); V. Hats'uni, *Dastiarakut'yunë Hin Hayots' K'ov* (Venice, 1932).
15. Örmānian, *Azgapatum*, III, col. 2121.
16. *Ibid.*, col. 2539.
17. *Ibid.*, cols. 2634, 2640.
18. *Ibid.*, col. 2804.
19. M. Örmānian, *Haykakan Erusaghēm: Nkaragir At'orhoy Srbots' Hakobeants'* (Jerusalem, 1931), pp. 77-78, 190.
20. For the regulations defining the purposes of the institution, the obligations of the faculty and seminarians, and the courses of instruction, see Sawalanians', *Patmut'yun Erusaghēmi*, II, 1026-1027; Hovhannēsians', *Zhamanakagrakan Patmut'yun*, II, 532.
21. Örmānian, *Azgapatum*, col. 2606.
22. Sawalanians', *Patmut'yun Erusaghēmi*, II, 1045-1046.
23. Örmānian, *Azgapatum*, cols. 2609, 2624-2625.
24. Sawalanians', *Patmut'yun Erusaghēmi*, II, 1087-1088.
25. *Ibid.*, pp. 1096-1097.
26. See text of encyclical in AA, vol. XXV, no. 756 (June 26, 1865).
27. Örmānian, *Azgapatum*, col. 2788; cf. Sawalanians', *Patmut'yun Erusaghēmi*, II, 1038.
28. See text of "Tsragir Usmants' Zharhangaworats' Varzharani Arhak'-

elakan At'orhoy Hayots' S. Hakovbeants' ew Paymank' Ēndunelut'ean Ashakertats' in *Siōn*, May 1872, pp. 97–100.

29. For the seminary's course offerings during the years 1866–1872 consult *Siōn*, March 1866, pp. 34, 36–37; Feb. 1867, p. 33; Feb. 1868, pp. 31, 49; Feb. 1869, p. 49; July 1872, p. 169.

30. The descriptions of these textbooks will be found in Kiulēsērian, *Patmut'iun*, pp. 826–833.

31. See brief biographies of the seminary's lay instructors in Agawnuni, *Miabank' ew Ayts'eluk'*, pp. 528–534.

32. Consult Ōrmanian, *Haykakan Erusaghēm*, p. 164.

33. *Ibid.*, pp. 165, 194.

34. Sawalanians', *Patmut'iun Erusaghēmi*, II, 1046.

35. See *Siōn*, March 1867, p. 48; March 1868, p. 65.

36. Sawalanians', *Patmut'iun Erusaghēmi*, II, 1304.

37. *Siōn*, March 1868, p. 65; Ōrmanian, *Haykakan Erusaghēm*, p. 86.

38. *Siōn*, Dec. 1867, p. 195.

39. Ōrmanian, *Haykakan Erusaghēm*, p. 196.

40. Vital Cuinet, *Syrie, Liban et Palestine; Géographie administrative, statistique, descriptive et raisonnée* (Paris, 1896), p. 563.

41. Ōrmanian, *Haykakan Erusaghēm*, p. 196.

42. *Siōn*, Jan. 1868, p. 20.

43. Agawnuni, *Miabank' ew Ayts'eluk'*, p. 441.

44. Trdat Palian, *Surb Erkir; Nkaragrut'iun Surb Erusaghēmi ew Srba-zan Tegheats'*, vol. I (Constantinople, 1892), p. 13.

45. Ōrmanian, *Haykakan Erusaghēm*, p. 197.

46. AA, vol. X, no. 352 (Dec. 9, 1849).

47. Cuinet, *Syrie, Liban et Palestine*, pp. 318, 386.

48. See "S. Nshan Azgayin Varzharanē" in Palian's *Suriahay Taregirk'*, 1929, p. 163.

49. Gēorg Jansēzian, "Pēyruṭ'i S. Nshan Hayots' Vank'ē" in *ibid.*, pp. 158–162; Varzhapetian, *Hayerē Libanani Mēj*, pp. 432–433, 441.

50. Varzhapetian, *Hayerē Libanani Mēj*, p. 435.

51. Cuinet, *Syrie, Liban et Palestine*, pp. 150, 162.

52. For the origin and development of this press consult Mesrop Nshanian, "Tparan Arhak'elakan At'orhoyn Srbots' Hakobeants' Erusaghēmi, Hariurameay Hobeleanin Arht'iw (1833–1933)" in *Sion*, new ser., Nov. 1933, pp. 338–371; Nshanian, *Aknark mē Erusaghēmi S. Hakobeants' Tparanin Vray* (Jerusalem, 1914). See also Ōrmanian, *Azgapatum*, cols. 2554, 2606, 2789; Ōrmanian, *Haykakan Erusaghēm*, pp. 72–77; Sawalanians', *Patmut'iun Erusaghēmi*, II, 987–988, 1025–1026, 1138.

53. Levonyan, *Hay Girk'ē*, p. 194.

54. For a list of these donors consult Nshanian, "Tparan," pp. 367–369.

55. For a study of these publications see Mkrtich' Aghawnuni, "Nakhnik' Oronts' oewē Mēk Gortsē Tpagruats ē S. At'orhoys Tparanin mēj" in *Sion*, new ser., Nov. 1933, pp. 372–394.

56. The contents of the journal's individual issues are described in detail by Sion Vardapet [Manukian], "Siōn Amsagir, Hin Shrjan (1866–1877)" in *Sion*, new ser., Nov. 1933, pp. 394–414.

57. A more detailed discussion of the history of the Dasatun will be found in Siurmēian, *Patmut' iun Halēpi Hayots'*, III, 68, 77-79, 82-83, 146-210, 227, 392. See also *Simēon Dpři Lehats'woy Ughegrut' iun; Nkaragir Ughegrut' ean i Lvovē i K. Polis, i Hrhom, i Mush ew Herusaghēm hamsn 1608-1619*, ed. Nersēs Akinian (Vienna, 1936), p. 317; *Zhamanakagrut' iun Grigor Vardapeti Kamakhets'woy kam Daranaghts'woy*, ed. and with an introduction by Mesrop Nshanian (Jerusalem, 1915), pp. 408-410; N. Akinian, "Hay Keank'ē Halēpi mēj, 1605-1635" in *Handes Amsorya*, 47 (1933): 312-315.

58. For an authoritative study of these schools consult Der Nersessian, *Catalogue of Armenian Manuscripts*.

59. Siurmēian, *Patmut' iun Halēpi Hayots'*, III, 150-151.

60. *Ibid.*, p. 838.

61. For further information on the Armenian Aleppine parochial schools consult *ibid.*, pp. 768, 778, 785-786, 810-813, 822-823, 836-839, 843, 860-863, 867-868, 870-872, 881-896. See also V. S., "Halēpi Hay Azgayin Varzharanē ew Iskētēr Garajian" in *Suriahay Tarets'oyts'*, 2 (1925): 180-182; [Anonymous] "Halēpi Krt'akan Verazart'numē-Varzharanner" in *ibid.*, pp. 314-318; *Azatomart* (Constantinople), no. 50 (Aug. 7, 1909).

62. AA, vol. VII, no. 274 (Dec. 13, 1846).

63. *Ibid.*, vol. VIII, no. 309 (April 16, 1848).

64. *Ibid.*, vol. XXII, no. 685 (Oct. 6, 1862); vol. XXIII, no. 707 (Aug. 10, 1863).

65. Consult V. S., "Halēpi," pp. 180-182; *Azatomart*, no. 50 (Aug. 7, 1909).

66. See *Vichakats'oyts' Gawarhakan Azgayin Varzharanats' Turk'ioy*, II, 1901-1902 (Constantinople, 1902), table 27.

67. The text of the report will be found in AA, vol. XXVII, no. 808 (June 24, 1867).

68. Consult *Vichakats'oyts' Gawarhakan Azgayin Varzharanats' Turk'ioy*, I, 1901 (Constantinople, 1901), table 26. For the status of the parochial schools in the Armenian villages of Musa Dagħ in 1910 see "Jēpēl Musayi Hayabnak Giugherē" in *Awetaber*, Oct. 1, 1910, pp. 914-915, 944.

69. *Siōn*, Oct. 1866, pp. 151-154.

70. For further details regarding the Armenian parochial schools in the region of Kasab consult *Alpom K'esapi*, pp. 15-17.

71. See Bayard Dodge, *The American University of Beirut: A Brief History of the University and the Lands which it Serves* (Beirut, 1958).

72. Hitti, *Lebanon in History*, pp. 448, 453-454.

73. For the roster of Armenian graduates from the American University consult Varzhapetian, *Hayerē Libanani Mēj*, pp. 459-463.

74. *Ibid.*, pp. 463-465.

75. A memorial plaque in the American University's West Hall, listing the names of its graduates who died during World War I, shows that the majority of these were Armenian.

76. For a more detailed history of this student organization see V.V., *25-ameak Amerikean Hamalsarani Hay Usanoghakan Miut'ean, 1908-1933* (Beirut, 1933).

77. Besides Dr. John Wortabet, referred to earlier, several other Armenians served on the faculty of the American University's school of medicine before World War I. Among these mention might be made of Kh. Pōnap'art'ian, Hovhannēs T'ertzian, and Ēmmanuēl K'ēt'ēnjan (see *ibid.*, p. 54). In addition, Harut'ian T'ertzian taught mathematics at the university from 1907 until 1910; and Mkrtich' Pōghosian and Lewon Lewonian served as professors of Turkish at the same institution, the first from 1900-1913 and the second from 1908-1911 (see Varzhapetian, *Hayerē Libanani Mēj*, pp. 325, 330, 338).

78. Varzhapetian, *Hayerē Libanani Mēj*, pp. 304-305.

79. After having been relieved of his position as principal of the Muslim College, Zōrian taught English and mathematics at the Government Lycée at Beirut from 1912-1918 (see *ibid.*, p. 319).

V. The Historical Evolution of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem

1. See Eusebios Kesarats'i, *Patmut'ün Ekeghets'woy*, ed. Abraham Charian (Venice, 1877), bk. II, 1, and bk. VII, 8; cf. Sawalanians', *Patmut'ün Erusaghēmi*, I, 34.

2. Sawalanians', *Patmut'ün Erusaghēmi*, I, 134, 510.

3. Hovhannēsians', *Zhamanakagrakan Patmut'ün*, I, 23-24, 29-30. It is to be noted that the Armenian church commemorates three different James's, about whom there is a good deal of confusion. (See Vark' Srbots', ed. Mkrtich' Awgerian, 12 vols. (Venice, 1810-1814), IX, 89; X, 247, 298.

4. Ōrmanian, *Azgapatum*, III (appendix IV). Consult also Barhnabas Hovsēp'ian, *Hajordut'ün Patriak'ats'n Erusaghēmi i Hakovbay Arhak'eloy Tearhneghbōrē minch'ew Tsmers Zhamanak* (Constantinople, 1872).

5. Ōrmanian, *Azgapatum*, col. 1261.

6. For details regarding the pro-Latin movement in Cilicia and the opposition which it encountered from the traditionalist clergy in Armenia and Cilicia itself consult *ibid.*, cols. 1233, 1246, 1250-1251.

7. *Ibid.*, col. 1262.

8. Ch'amch'ian, *Patmut'ün Hayots'*, III, 313.

9. Hovhannēsians', *Zhamanakagrakan Patmut'ün*, I, 201.

10. Ōrmanian, *Azgapatum*, col. 1263.

11. See note 122 of Chapter I, for bibliography on the catholicosate of Aght'amar.

12. Cf. Sawalanians' (*Patmut'ün Erusaghēmi*, I, 510) who claims, without any substantiation, that the patriarchs of Jerusalem did in fact exercise this prerogative until 1441, that is, until the pontifical seat was transferred from Sis to Etchmiadzin. He contends that the relinquishment of this privilege at this time was, first, in deference to the pre-eminent position of the supreme hierarchy, and, secondly, in order to insure the unity of the Armenian spiritual authority.

13. Ōrmanian, *Azgapatum*, col. 1263.

14. For two contrasting views on the subject consult Izmirlian, *Hayrapetut'ün*, and Kiulēsērian, *Patmut'ün*, pp. 1125-1152. See also the more recent study "Tann Kilikio Kat'oghikosut'yunē Patmut'yan Luysi Tak" in *Ējmiatsin*, vol. XVI, nos. 8-12 (1959); vol. XVII, nos. 2-3 (1960).

15. For a detailed discussion of the developments affecting the mutual relations of the catholicosate of Etchmiadzin and the patriarchate of Constantinople consult Ōrmanian, *Azgapatum*, cols. 2085-2087, 2118, 2336, 2339, 2588, 2696-2697, 2771, 2836. Cf. also Sawalanians', *Patmut'iun Erusaghēmi*, II, 785-789, 930-933.

16. Kiulēsērian, *Patmut'iun*, pp. 1253-1268. This discussion, which seeks to advance the tendentious view of the subordination of the patriarchate of Jerusalem to the see of Cilicia, is replete with contradictory arguments.

17. Ōrmanian, *Haykakan Erusaghēm*, pp. 148-149.

18. Ōrmanian, *Azgapatum*, col. 1482.

19. *Ibid.*, col. 1506.

20. Hovhannēsians', *Zhamanakagrakan Patmut'iun*, I, 236-237.

21. *Ibid.*, pp. 253-254.

22. *Ibid.*, pp. 256-257.

23. Ōrmanian, *Azgapatum*, col. 1603.

24. Sawalanians', *Patmut'iun Erusaghēmi*, I, 592.

25. Ōrmanian, *Azgapatum*, col. 1734; Aghawnuni, *Miabank' ew Ayts' eluk'*, pp. 157-158.

26. Ōrmanian, *Azgapatum*, col. 1737.

27. Ch'amch'ian, *Patmut'iun Hayots'*, III, 714.

28. See Zak'aria Sarkawagi *Patmagrut'iun*, 3 vols. (Vagarshapat, 1870), II, 76.

29. Ch'amch'ian, *Patmut'iun Hayots'*, III, 715.

30. Hovhannēsians', *Zhamanakagrakan Patmut'iun*, I, 392.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 391.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 394.

33. The episodes involving Eghiazar's catholicosate of the Armenians of the Ottoman empire are discussed in great detail in Ōrmanian, *Azgapatum*, cols. 1751-1767; Hovhannēsians', *Zhamanakagrakan Patmut'iun*, I, 363-404; Sawalanians', *Patmut'iun Erusaghēmi*, I, 608-640.

34. Ōrmanian, *Azgapatum*, cols. 1767, 1786; Hovhannēsians', *Zhamanakagrakan Patmut'iun*, I, 378.

35. Hovhannēsians', *Zhamanakagrakan Patmut'iun*, I, 404.

36. For more detailed discussions of these developments consult *ibid.*, pp. 419-424; Sawalanians', *Patmut'iun Erusaghēmi*, I, 654-662; Ōrmanian, *Azgapatum*, cols. 1856-1858. See also *Oragrut'iun Eremia Ch'ēlēpi K'ēō-miurchiani*, ed. Mesrop Nshanian (Jerusalem, 1939), introduction.

37. Ōrmanian, *Azgapatum*, col. 1858.

38. See Hovhannēs Vardapet Hannē, *Girk' Patmut'ean Srboy ew Metsi Kaghak'in Astutsoy Erusaghēmi, ew Srbots' Tnorinakanats' Tegheats'* (3d printing, Constantinople, 1782), pp. 106-114; Hovhannēsians', *Zhamanakagrakan Patmut'iun*, I, 429-434; Sawalanians', *Patmut'iun Erusaghēmi*, I, 663-668.

39. Hannē, *Girk' Patmut'ean*, pp. 114-121; see also the monographic study by Babgēn Kiulēsērian, *Kolot Hovhannēs Patriark'* (Vienna, 1904), pp. 168-169.

40. Hovhannēsians', *Zhamanakagrakan Patmut'iun*, I, 440-441.

41. Patriarch Grigor removed the chain in 1726, that is, some eight years after the liabilities of his see had been paid off, and only after the

repeated urgings of the catholicos of Etchmiadzin, Patriarch Kolot, the national leaders at Constantinople, and the members of the monastic order at Jerusalem.

42. The most important source on these developments is the eyewitness account of Hannē, *Girk' Patmut'ean*, pp. 121-159. For the role of Patriarch Kolot of Constantinople consult the biographical work by Kiulēsērian, *Kolot Hovhannēs Patriark'*. See also the exhaustive discussions in Sawalanians', *Patmut'ün Erusaghēmi*, I, 665-672, 690-698; Hovhannēsians', *Zhamanakagrakan Patmut'ün*, I, 415-424, 433-442, and II, 5-10; Örmānian, *Azgapatum*, cols. 1857-1858, 1909, 1911-1915, 1923-1927, 1933, 1958.

43. See text in Hannē, *Girk' Patmut'ean*, pp. 139-141. When in the 1860's the provisions of these canons became the subject of a bitter controversy they were popularly referred to by the opposition as *Hannayi Nzovk'ner* (that is, the Anathemas of Hannē). The misnomer derived from the fact that the canons were first recorded in Hannē's above-cited work.

44. See Hovhannēsians', *Zhamanakagrakan Patmut'ün*, II, 11; Sawalanians', *Patmut'ün Erusaghēmi*, II, 700.

45. Cf. Örmānian, *Azgapatum*, cols. 1949-1951.

46. The details regarding these developments will be found in Sawalanians', *Patmut'ün Erusaghēmi*, II, 785-789.

47. See text of the agreement in *ibid.*, pp. 943-945.

48. To the best of this author's knowledge, the text of these regulations has never been published. A summary of it will be found in *ibid.*, pp. 758-759.

49. See text of these regulations in Hovhannēsians', *Zhamanakagrakan Patmut'ün*, pp. 115-116.

50. *Ibid.*, pp. 116-117.

51. The text of these regulations will be found in *ibid.*, pp. 378-384; cf. summary in Örmānian, *Azgapatum*, col. 2427. For the directive issued by the central authorities respecting the purpose of the regulations and their implementation see Hovhannēsians', II, 376-377.

52. Hovhannēsians', II, 97, 100.

53. See the details of this episode in Sawalanians', *Patmut'ün Erusaghēmi*, II, 1033-1037.

54. Örmānian, *Azgapatum*, col. 2705.

55. The summary of the draft regulations will be found in *ibid.*

56. *Ibid.*, col. 2710.

57. See text in Sawalanians', *Patmut'ün Erusaghēmi*, II, 1107-1112.

58. *Ibid.*, p. 1117.

59. *Ibid.*, pp. 1118-1119.

60. *Masis*, no. 645 (Aug. 3, 1861).

61. See *Herk'umn Aniraw Zrpartut'eants' ew Aghers* (Jerusalem), I, 1-10; *Boghok' Erkrord arh Azgayin Endhanur Zhoghovn* (Jerusalem, 1861); *S. Erusaghēmay Khndirn u Mējmua* (Constantinople, 1861).

62. Örmānian, *Azgapatum*, col. 2718.

63. *Ibid.*, col. 2721.

64. *Masis*, no. 498 (1861).

65. *Ibid.*, no. 499 (1861).

66. Ōrmanian, *Azgapatum*, col. 2719.
67. Various individuals published articles and statements in the press arguing that the Canons of Catholicos Karapet did not exist in the original manuscript of Hannē's book and that they were later interpolations; others vigorously refuted these false assertions. See some of these polemical writings in *Masis*, no. 393 (1861); for an examination of the issues involved consult Ōrmanian, *Azgapatum*, cols. 2724-2726.
68. *Masis*, nos. 651, 653 (1864).
69. Lynch, *Armenia*, II, 458-459.
70. See text in *Kanonagir S. Erusaghēmay Vanits', K'neal ew Hastateal Azgayin Eresp'okhanakan Zhoghovēn, Mart 19i Nistin mēj, i Galata, 1865* (Constantinople, 1865).
71. Ōrmanian, *Azgapatum*, col. 2792.
72. For an eyewitness account of these developments consult Sawalanians', *Patmut'iun Erusaghēmi*, II, 1140-1144.
73. These developments are described in great detail in Ōrmanian, *Azgapatum*, cols. 2870-2871.
74. Consult *ibid.*, cols. 2872-2875.
75. See summary of the Regulations of 1880 in *ibid.*, col. 2872.
76. The details concerning the arrangement arrived at between the Porte and the patriarchate, and the difficulties involving the reimbursements, will be found in *ibid.*, cols. 2876-2878.
77. See text in *Kanon Miabanakan Ukhtin Arhak'elakan At'orhoy Srbots' Hakobeants' i Surb Erusaghēm* (Jerusalem, 1888).
78. *Arewelk'* (Constantinople), nos. 1590, 1598 (1889).
79. *Ibid.*, col. 3044.
80. *Biuzandion* (Constantinople), no. 2136 (1903).
81. Ōrmanian, *Azgapatum*, cols. 3051-3056.
82. The auditing committee's report and the text of the central administration's resolution will be found in *Erusaghēmi Hashuots' K'nnut'ean Teghekagirner* (mimeographed and printed pamphlets, nos. I-XV, Constantinople, 1893-1911), nos. I-II.
83. See details in Ōrmanian, *Azgapatum*, cols. 3068-3070.
84. See *Erusaghēmi Hashuots' K'nnut'ean Teghekagirner*, no. IX (1909).
85. See texts in Ghewond Mak'sutian, *Herk'umn Ezrakats'uteants' Teghekagrin Erusaghēmi Hashuots' K'nnich' Handznazhoghovoyin* (Constantinople, 1909); also Mak'sutian, *Aknark mē Erusaghēmi Hashuots' K'nnich' Arhajin ew Verjin Handznazhoghovots' ew anonts' Teghekagirnerun Ezrakats'uteants' vray* (Constantinople, 1909).
86. The enormous wealth which Mak'sutian had amassed at the expense of the patriarchate of Jerusalem can be gauged by the vast expenditures he made in support of his relatives, in the large number of properties he bought, and in the newspapers he founded or supported after his dismissal from the order of St. James in 1905 until his death in 1922. See Ōrmanian, *Azgapatum*, col. 3053. For a detailed account of the see's financial crisis of 1893-1914 consult Ōrmanian, *Erusaghēmi Partk'in Lusabanut'iunē ew Elewmitts' Amp'op'umē, 1893-1914* (Jerusalem, 1914).
87. See summary in Ōrmanian, *Azgapatum*, col. 3072.

88. See *Erusaghēmi Hashuots' K'nnut'ean Teghekagirner*, no. VIII (1909), pp. 12–26.
89. Ōrmanian, *Azgapatum*, col. 3127; see also M. T. S., *Erusaghēmi Verjin Dēpk'erē, Vank'ē, Miabanut'iunē* (n.p., 1908).
90. Ōrmanian, *Azgapatum*, col. 3130.
91. See text of the indictment in *Erusaghēmi Hashuots' K'nnut'ean Teghekagirner*, no. VI (1908–1911), pp. 14–19.
92. *Manzumēi Efkiar* (Constantinople), no. 2443 (1909).
93. Ōrmanian, *Azgapatum*, cols. 3131, 3139, 3148.
94. *Arewelk'*, nos. 7152, 7163, 7168–7169 (1909).
95. See *Erusaghēmi Hashuots' K'nnut'ean Teghekagirner*, no. VI (1908–1911), p. 21.
96. See details in Ōrmanian, *Azgapatum*, col. 3143.
97. For a more detailed discussion of these developments consult *ibid.*, col. 3144.
98. *Ibid.*, cols. 3145, 3147.
99. The text of their plan will be found in *Erusaghēmi Hashuots' K'nnut'ean Teghekagirner*, no. VI (1908–1911), pp. 40–44.
100. See text in *ibid.*, no. XII, pp. 14–18.
101. *Arewelk'*, nos. 7439, 7442, 7445 (1910).
102. See text in *Kanonagir Surb Hakobeants' Vanuts'* (Constantinople, 1913).
103. For an analysis of the constitutional problems involving the relations of the central authorities at Constantinople and the see of Jerusalem consult Ōrmanian, *Haykakan Erusaghēm*, pp. 153–160. For a critical examination of the Regulations of 1913 see, in particular, Ōrmanian's *Ditoghagir, Erusaghēmi hamar Kazmuats Nor Kanonagrin Znnut'iunn ew Lusabanut'iunē* (Jerusalem, 1915).
104. See Ōrmanian, *Haykakan Erusaghēm*, pp. 152–153.
105. The details of this transaction will be found in the documents published in *Surioy Erusaghēmapatkan T'emurun Kilikioy Kat'oghikosut'ean P'okhants'umē* (Jerusalem, 1930).

VI. The Jurisdictional Scope of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem

1. Aghawnuni, *Haykakan Hin Vank'er*, pp. 245–258.
2. Khorēn Mkhitarian, "Teghekut'iunk' Bet'ghehēmi Azgaynots' Vray" in *Siōn*, March 1875, pp. 62–64. This article also provides interesting information on the social customs of the Christians at Bethlehem in the second half of the nineteenth century.
3. Hovsēp'ian, *Hajordut'iun Patriark'ats'n Erusaghēmi*, p. 32.
4. The Acts of the Apostles, IX:36–43, X:1–23.
5. Hannē, *Girk' Patmut'ean*, p. 66.
6. Hovhannēsians', *Zhamanakagrakan Patmut'iun*, I, 414.
7. Sawalanians', *Patmut'iun Erusaghēmi*, II, 710. These properties were not made as outright bequests to the patriarchate, and the amira's son, Merker, caused not a little trouble to the institution by collecting the revenues from these properties, contrary to his father's wishes. The issue

was finally settled in 1765 when the patriarchate purchased them from Merker for a sum of 5000 piasters. See *ibid.*, p. 783.

8. Hannē, *Girk' Patmut'ean*, p. 66. This contemporary author asserts that the patriarch also built an altar and consecrated the "newly built" church of St. Nikoghayos. Since this church had existed for a long time, the statement should be interpreted as referring to its reconstruction.

9. Aghawnuni, *Haykakan Hin Vank'er*, p. 315.

10. Sawalanians', *Patmut'iun Erusaghēmi*, II, 958-959, note 2.

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 1005-1006. In response to Patriarch Hovhannēs' repeated appeals to the Porte, the latter eventually decided to seek the opinion of the city council at Jerusalem as to whether the Armenian claim to the quarantine was warranted. After seven months of protracted investigations the council sent a report denying the validity of the claim. At the behest of the patriarchate of Constantinople, the Porte again dispatched an official investigator to Jerusalem in 1857 to secure copies of the records respecting the quarantine's ownership. This task was completed in September of the following year, during which time the official enjoyed the hospitality of the see of Jerusalem. Contrary to the Porte's ruling that the patriarchate was the rightful owner of the disputed property and should therefore reassume its possession, and also despite the large expenditures incurred by the latter, the decision was never carried out. See *ibid.*, p. 1078.

12. Palian, *Surb Erkir*, I, 27.

13. See [T. H. T. Sawalanians'] *Ughets'oyts' Srbazan Tegheats'* (Jerusalem, 1892), p. 13.

14. For a summary of the events of the years 1772-1805 affecting the Armenian community at Jaffa consult Aghawnuni, *Haykakan Hin Vank'er*, pp. 313-317.

15. Hovhannēsians', *Zhamanakagrakan Patmut'iun*, I, 364.

16. Hannē, *Girk' Patmut'ean*, p. 69.

17. Aghawnuni, *Haykakan Hin Vank'er*, pp. 327-328.

18. Alpōyajian, *Gaght'akanut'iun*, II, 456.

19. Hovhannēsians', *Zhamanakagrakan Patmut'iun*, I, 364.

20. Aghawnuni, *Haykakan Hin Vank'er*, pp. 409-410.

21. Hannē, *Girk' Patmut'ean*, p. 293.

22. See Mkrtich' Artsrunian, *Storagrut'iun Erusaghēmi* (Jerusalem, 1859), p. 248.

23. Aghawnuni, *Haykakan Hin Vank'er*, pp. 410-411.

24. Aghawnuni, *Haykakan Hin Vank'er*, pp. 54, 439; Hovhannēsians', *Zhamanakagrakan Patmut'iun*, I, 188-189; Tādēos Mihrdatians', *Nkaragir Aghētits' Erusaghēmi, kam Uruagits Ogwoy ew Ent'ats'its' Karhavarut'ean Hovhannēs Patriark'in Erusaghēmi Zmiurhnats'woy* (Constantinople, 1860), p. 59.

25. Aghawnuni, *Miabanak' ew Ayts'eluk'*, p. 390.

26. For a list of the clergy who served as representatives of the see of Jerusalem at Beirut from 1862 until World War I see Varzhapetian, *Hayerē Libanani Mēj*, pp. 443-444.

27. *Ibid.*, pp. 433-434.

28. See colophons of Armenian MSS. in Tashian, *Ts'uts'ak Hayerēn*

Dzerhagrats' . . . i Vienna, p. 550a; Barsegh Sargisian, *Mayr Ts'uts'ak Hayerēn Dzerhagrats' Matenadaranin Mkhit'areants' i Venetik*, 2 vols. (Venice, 1914), II, 1262. Consult also Zarbhanalian, *Haykakan Hin Dprut'ean Patmut'iun*, p. 455.

29. See text of colophon in Khach'ikyan, XV *Dari Hishatakaranner*, pt. 1, pp. 590-591.

30. Hannē, *Girk' Patmut'ean*, p. 303; Aghawnuni, *Miabank' ew Ayts'eluk'*, p. 417.

31. Sawalanians', *Patmut'iun Erusaghēmi*, II, 695.

32. See text of the encyclical in *ibid.*, pp. 738-739.

33. Aghawnuni, *Miabank' ew Ayts'eluk'*, p. 417.

34. For details regarding this incident consult Sawalanians', *Patmut'iun Erusaghēmi*, II, 1086-1087; Kiulēsērian, *Patmut'iun*, pp. 698-699.

35. Hovhannēsians', *Zhamanakagrakan Patmut'iun*, II, 549.

36. See Khorēn Mkhit'arian, *Hamarhōt Patmut'iun Erusaghēmi ew Storagrut'iun Srbazan Tegheats'* (Jerusalem, 1867), p. 166; *Siōn*, July 1866, p. 102; AA, no. 664 (Dec. 16, 1861).

37. *Siōn*, April 1870, p. 92.

38. Hovhannēsians', *Zhamanakagrakan Patmut'iun*, II, 549.

39. Ēp'rikian, *Bnashkharhik Barharan*, I, 574-575.

40. See text of the inscription in Aghawnuni, *Miabank' ew Ayts'eluk'*, p. 315. Cf. Hovhannēsians', "Karch Chanaparhordut'iun" in *Siōn*, July 1868, pp. 161-162, who erroneously attributes the construction of the monastery to Hakob Amuja.

41. Hovhannēsians', *Zhamanakagrakan Patmut'iun*, II, 152-153.

42. Movsēs Oskerich'ian, "Lat'ak'ioy Hay Gaghut'ē" in *Suriahay Tarets'oys'*, 1925, p. 218.

43. Hovhannēsians', *Zhamanakagrakan Patmut'iun*, II, 408-409.

44. Oskerich'ian, "Lat'ak'ioy Hay Gaghut'ē," p. 218.

45. Siurmēian, *Patmut'iun Halēpi Hayots'*, III, 870.

46. *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33.

47. *Ibid.*, p. 95.

48. Hovhannēsians', *Zhamanakagrakan Patmut'iun*, II, 6.

49. Hovhannēsians', "Karch Chanaparhordut'iun" in *Siōn*, Sept.-Oct. 1868.

50. Siurmēian, *Patmut'iun Halēpi Hayots'*, III, 97, 710, 732, 788, 801-802.

51. *Masis*, no. 2799 (February 1, 1881).

52. See article "Badr al-Djamali" by C. H. Becker in *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (new ed.), pp. 869-870.

53. See M. Canard, "Un Vizir chrétien à l'époque fatimite: l'Arménien Bahram" in *Annales de l'Institut d'Etudes Orientales de la Faculté des Lettres d'Alger* (Algiers), 12 (1954): 84-113.

54. For a study of the role of these Armenian viziers and other political and military functionaries in Fatimid Egypt consult M. Canard, "Notes sur les Arméniens en Egypte à l'époque fatimite" in *ibid.*, 13 (1955): 143-157.

55. See *Sop'erk' Haykakank'*, ed. Ghewond M. Alishan and others, 24 vols. (Venice, 1853-1934), XIV, *Srboyn Nersēsi Shnorhalwoy Patmut'iun Varuts'*, pp. 23-28.

56. Ghewond M. Alishan, *Shnorhali ew Paragay iur* (Venice, 1873), pp. 162-163.

57. See *Patmut'iun Matt'ēosi Urhhayets'woy* (Jerusalem, 1869), pp. 253-254; *Hawak'umn Patmut'ean Vardanay Patmich'i* (Venice, 1862), p. 102. Several medieval Armenian authors refer to Grigoris as "catholicos" of the Armenians of Egypt; nevertheless, they make it amply evident that he was subordinate and accountable to the supreme Armenian pontificate. See, in particular, *Kirakosi Vardapeti Gandzakets'woy Hamarhot Patmut'iun*, (Venice, 1865), p. 55; and *Patmut'iun Matt'ēosi Urhhayets'woy*, p. 254.

58. See *Abusahl Hay; Patmut'iun Ekeghets'cats' ew Vanorēits' Egiptosi*, trans. Ghewond M. Alishan (Venice, 1895; reprinted 1933). This work represents excerpts from the historical text of the fourteenth-century author Abu Salih al-Armani. The original Arabic is trans. in full in B. T. A. Evetts, *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt and Some Neighbouring Countries Attributed to Abu Salih, the Armenian* (Anecdota Oxoniensia, Semitic Series, pt. VII, Oxford, 1895).

59. Alpōyajian, *Gaght'akanut'iun*, II, 463.

60. Al-Maqrizi, *Histoire des sultans mamlouks de l'Egypte*, trans. Quatremère, I, 152.

61. Alpōyajian, *Gaght'akanut'iun*, II, 467.

62. *Ibid.*, p. 470.

63. Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, col. 2607.

64. Sawalanians', *Patmut'iun Erusaghēmi*, II, 1001-1002.

65. For a discussion of the contributions of these and other Armenians to Egypt under the khedives consult Nazarēt' M. Aghazarm, *Not'er Egiptosi Hay Gaghut'in vray* (Cairo, 1911), pp. 25-68.

66. Sawalanians', *Patmut'iun Erusaghēmi*, II, 1002.

67. The details of these developments will be found in *ibid.*, p. 1002; Hovhannēsians', *Zhamanakagrakan Patmut'iun*, II, 504-505.

68. Hovhannēsians', *Zhamanakagrakan Patmut'iun*, II, 505. Cf. Sawalanians', *Patmut'iun Erusaghēmi*, II, 1003, who asserts that the amount was 94,025 piasters.

69. Hovhannēsians', *Zhamanakagrakan Patmut'iun*, II, 505-506.

70. *Ibid.*, pp. 505-507.

71. Sawalanians', *Patmut'iun Erusaghēmi*, II, 1003.

72. Hovhannēsians', *Zhamanakagrakan Patmut'iun*, II, 507.

73. Sawalanians', *Patmut'iun Erusaghēmi*, II, 1004.

74. *Ibid.*, II, 1156.

75. For prelate-bishop Gabriēl's brief biographies see Zardarian, *Hishatakaran*, II, 373-374; Aghazarm, *Not'er*, pp. 115-123; Aghawnuni, *Miabank' ew Ayts'eluk'*, pp. 54-55. There is little doubt that Gabriēl proved himself as an able administrator. He also secured important privileges for his community from Muhammad Ali and Khedive Sa'id, and obtained large tracts of land as gift from the latter, the proceeds of which were used to help needy Armenians.

76. Sawalanians', *Patmut'iun Erusaghēmi*, pp. 1156-1159, which describes in some detail Patriarch Esayi's unsuccessful trip to Egypt.

77. A detailed account of these transactions will be found in *ibid.*, pp. 1159-1161.

78. See Zardarian, *Hishatakaran*, II, 374.
79. *Ibid.*; Aghazarm, *Not'er*, pp. 68, 75, 77-79.
80. *Patmut'iun Sebēosi Episkoposi i Herakln* (Tiflis, 1912), pp. 75-79; cf. also Tēr-Mik'ayēlian, *Hayastaneayts' Ekeghets'in ew Biuzandakan Zhoghovots' Paragayk'*, p. 111.
81. Alishan, *Sisuan*, p. 65; cf. Ōrmanian, *Azgapatum*, col. 785.
82. See G. Schlumberger, *Sigillographie de l'Empire byzantin* (Paris, 1884), p. 714.
83. See [Nersēs Shnorhali] *Ēndhanrakan T'ugh't'k'*, p. 199.
84. See De Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l'île de Chypre*, II, 75; III, 592.
85. Benedict of Peterborough in *Excerptia Cyprica; Materials for a History of Cyprus*, trans. Claude D. Cobham (Cambridge, Eng., 1908), pp. 6-8; cf. Bakuran, *Kipros Kghzi* (Nicosia, 1903), pp. 49-50.
86. Bakuran, *Kipros Kghzi*, p. 51; Alpōyajian, *Gagh't'akanut'iun*, II, 552; Alpōyajian, "Kiprahay Gaghutē ew Arhajnordut'iunk'" in T'ēodik's *Amēnun Tarets'oyts'ē*, 1927 (Paris, 1927), p. 212.
87. For the relations of the Cilician kingdom with Cyprus consult De Mas Latrie, *L'île de Chypre*, pp. 219-222, 232-235.
88. See *RHC, Doc. Arm.*, I, 736-737.
89. Bakuran, *Kipros Kghzi*, p. 56.
90. In Ottoman times this quarter was called "Karamanzade Mahallesi."
91. See De Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l'île de Chypre*, I, 105-106.
92. Alpōyajian, *Kiprahay Gaghut'ē*, p. 214.
93. For a partial list of the Armenian monasteries and churches in Cyprus during the twelfth-fourteenth centuries consult Alishan, *Sisuan*, p. 482, note 2.
94. Alishan, *Hayapatum*, p. 552.
95. For partial lists of Armenian MSS. copied there consult Bak [Babgēn Kiulēsērian], *Hay-Kipros; Hay Gaghut'ē ew S. Makar* (Antilias, 1936), pp. 29-33; Alpōyajian, *Gagh't'akanut'iun*, II, 552-553.
96. Étienne de Lusignan, *Description de toute l'île de Chypre et des roys, princes et seigneurs*, as cited in Bakuran, *Kipros Kghzi*, p. 59.
97. Bak, *Hay-Kipros*, pp. 23-24; Alpōyajian, *Kiprahay Gaghut'ē*, p. 219.
98. Sawalanians', *Patmut'iun Erusaghēmi*, I, 559.
99. Alpōyajian, *Kiprahay Gaghut'ē*, pp. 219, 232-233.
100. For a contemporary account consult *Zhamanakagrut'iun Daranaghts'woy*, pp. 98-100.
101. Bak, *Hay-Kipros*, p. 24; Bakuran, *Kipros Kghzi*, p. 71; Alpōyajian, *Kiprahay Gaghut'ē*, p. 220.
102. Alpōyajian, *Kiprahay Gaghut'ē*, p. 223; Bak, *Hay-Kipros*, pp. 37-38. The latter's contention that the bishopric of Cyprus had always remained under the jurisdiction of the catholicosate of Cilicia has no historical foundation.
103. Bakuran, *Kipros Kghzi*, pp. 71-72.
104. For a detailed discussion of the history of this monastery consult Bak, *Hay-Kipros*, pp. 127-166; see also Bakuran, *Kipros Kghzi*, pp. 91-106; and Alpōyajian, *Kiprahay Gaghut'ē*, pp. 228-229.
105. The rosters of these prelates will be found in Bak, *Hay-Kipros*, pp.

241-247; Bakuran, *Kipros Kghzi*, pp. 115-122; Alpöyajian, *Kiprahay Gaghut'ē*, pp. 223-228. It should be pointed out that all of these lists contain a number of lacunae.

106. Bakuran, *Kipros Kghzi*, p. 88.

107. AA, vol. XXIII, nos. 700 and 704 (May 4, and June 29, 1863).

108. See partial text of the encyclical letter in Bak, *Hay-Kipros*, pp. 164-166.

109. AA, vol. XXX, no. 964 (June 16, 1873).

110. For a discussion of Armenian officials in the British administration of Cyprus consult Bakuran, *Kipros Kghzi*, pp. 88-90.

111. Alpöyajian, *Kiprahay Gaghut'ē*, p. 226.

112. Bakuran, *Kipros Kghzi*, pp. 82-83.

113. *Ibid.*, p. 83; Alpöyajian, *Kiprahay Gaghut'ē*, p. 227.

VII. Custodianship of the Holy Places

1. See L. G. A. Cust, *The Status Quo in the Holy Places, with an Annex on 'The Status Quo in the Church of the Nativity, Bethlehem'* by Abdullah Kardus (printed for the [British] Government of Palestine by His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1929), p. 6.

2. The apocryphal charter issued to the Armenians by the Prophet Muhammad asserts that, anticipating the imminent occupation of Palestine by the Arabs, the Armenian Bishop Abraham of Jerusalem led a delegation of some forty monks to Mecca and expressed to the Prophet himself the homage of his community as well as the loyalty of the other monophysite Christians, namely, the Copts, Jacobite Syrians, and Abyssians, who were dependent upon the Armenians. In return, the bishop is said to have secured Muhammad's guarantee respecting the integrity of their privileges and possessions in the Holy Land. An Armenian translation of the text will be found in Sawalanians', *Patmut'iun Erusaghēmi*, I, 261-262. The author states that the "original" of this charter does not exist in the archives of the Armenian patriarchate of Jerusalem; rather, he claims, there is a copy of it bearing the signatures of thirty witnesses, including that of the future Caliph Umar I. On the other hand, Hovhannēsians' (*Zhamanakagrakan Patmut'iun*, I, 108), who fails to reproduce the text, asserts that the charter does exist in the same institution, but he does not state whether it represents the "original" or it is merely a copy of it.

The charter allegedly issued by Umar I to the Armenian patriarch of Jerusalem (see Armenian translation in Sawalanians', *Patmut'iun Erusaghēmi*, I, 268-270) claims that, immediately after Umar's conquest of the city, not only the Armenian bishop but also the monophysite communities voluntarily submitted to Muslim domination, and in return obtained the caliph's guarantee of their security, as well as the integrity of their sanctuaries and properties. After the issuance of the charter, Umar is stated to have collected the prescribed taxes from the Armenian population; and he is said to have impelled the Armenians to assist the Arab authorities in apprehending and expelling the "Greek bandits and spies" from the Holy City.

The charter which the Caliph Ali is alleged to have granted to the Armenian Patriarch Abraham in 4 A.H. is said to have been secured after Abraham, together with forty ecclesiastics, paid a personal visit to the caliph. (See Sawalanians', *Patmut'iun Erusaghēmi*, I, 270-271, who does not produce the text.)

Despite their doubtful validity, these three documents are referred to in the charters issued to the Armenians by Saladin and the Ottoman Sultan Selim I in the twelfth and sixteenth centuries, respectively.

3. See H. C. Luke, *Prophets, Priests and Patriarchs; Sketches of the Sects of Palestine and Syria* (London, [1927]), p. 40.

4. Sawalanians', *Patmut'iun Erusaghēmi*, I, 342.

5. Cust, *The Status Quo in the Holy Places*, pp. 7-8.

6. Armenian translations of this charter will be found in Sawalanians', *Patmut'iun Erusaghēmi*, I, 409-413; Hovhannēsians', *Zhamanakagrakan Patmut'iun*, I, 160-163.

7. For an apocryphal story according to which Saladin was overwhelmed by a "miracle" in the cathedral of St. James and therefore decided against confiscating it see Hannē, *Girk' Patmut'ean*, pp. 80-87; Hovhannēsians', *Zhamanakagrakan Patmut'iun*, I, 158-159; Sawalanians', *Patmut'iun Erusaghēmi*, I, 414-415.

8. See M. Carlo Gurmani, *Question sur la propriété de St. Jacques à Jérusalem* (Jerusalem, 1867), pp. 23-24. The author reproduces the following quotation from the Annales de l'Abbaye d'Anchin: "Armeni Christiani, magno dato censi pretio Sepulchrum dominicum sua ecclesia et domini Templum a Salahadino redemerunt." See also *Siōn*, 1866, p. 146.

9. Sawalanians', *Patmut'iun Erusaghēmi*, I, 462, 542.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 514-515; Hovhannēsians', *Zhamanakagrakan Patmut'iun*, I, 207.

11. See partial text of the colophon of MS. no. 540 of the Armenian patriarchate of Jerusalem, as reproduced in Aghawnuni, *Miabank' ew Ayts'eluk'*, pp. 199-200.

12. Hovhannēsians', *Zhamanakagrakan Patmut'iun*, I, 202-203.

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 204-205.

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 231-233, 241-246.

15. See text of the edict in *ibid.*, p. 206.

16. The details of this episode will be found in Hannē, *Girk' Patmut'ean*, pp. 200-203; Sawalanians', *Patmut'iun Erusaghēmi*, I, 533-535; Hovhannēsians', *Zhamanakagrakan Patmut'iun*, I, 222-229.

17. Örmānian, *Azgapatum*, cols. 1506, 2454.

18. See W. Fitzgerald, "The Holy Places of Palestine in History and in Politics" in *International Affairs*, 26 (1950): 1-10.

19. The text of this charter will be found in the identical Hatti-Sherifs issued by Sultan Mahmut II in 1813 to the Greek and Armenian patriarchates of Jerusalem. The Turkish-language Armenian-script text appears in Sawalanians', *Patmut'iun Erusaghēmi*, II, 880-889; a classical Armenian translation of same will be found in Hovhannēsians', *Zhamanakagrakan Patmut'iun*, II, 222-229.

20. *Ibid.*

21. Along with the Georgians and Serbians, the charter also mentions the Abyssinians as dependents of the Greek patriarchate. This discrepancy is not easy to explain, unless it is a later addition, since the Armenian charter just summarized, as well as numerous other edicts preserved in the archives of the monastery of St. James, attest to the inclusion of the Abyssinians among the monophysite churches which have always enjoyed the protection of the Armenian patriarchate of Jerusalem.

22. Sawalanians', *Patmut'iun Erusaghēmi*, I, 552.

23. Hovhannēsians', *Zhamanakagrakan Patmut'iun*, I, 261-265.

24. *Ibid.*, pp. 294-295.

25. For a more detailed description of this episode consult *ibid.*, pp. 302-304.

26. *Ibid.*, pp. 281-282. It should be noted that in 1634 both the Georgian and Serbian monks at Jerusalem rebelled against the authority of the Greek patriarch. When the patriarch used forcible means to arrest this move, the Serbians protested to the Greek patriarchate of Constantinople and other Orthodox sees; in consequence, they were officially separated from the jurisdiction of the Greek see. However, this did not resolve the controversy. In order to pay off the large amounts they owed to creditors, the Serbians agreed to sell their monastery of St. Michael to the Latins, and their monastery of Mar Saba to the Armenians; but the Greek patriarch did everything within his power to prevent the transactions. See details in Hovhannēsians', *Zhamanakagrakan Patmut'iun*, I, 322-324, which also discusses the difficulties encountered by the Greek patriarch at the hands of the Ottoman government during his travels abroad to raise funds for the repayment of the Serbian community's liabilities.

27. *Ibid.*, I, 313-314.

28. *Ibid.*, pp. 348-349.

29. These included an altar in Golgotha, and several other small sanctuaries in the cathedral of the Holy Sepulcher; the chapel of St. Mary the Egyptian and the monastery of Abraham in the forecourt of the same cathedral; the monastery of St. Catherine in the blacksmiths' quarter of the city; an altar in the church of St. Mary at Gethsemane; and another altar in the church of the Nativity at Bethlehem.

30. Sawalanians', *Patmut'iun Erusaghēmi*, I, 604. Simultaneously with their usurpation of the Abyssinian possessions, the Greeks also gained control of the remaining Georgian assets by assuming the Georgian share of state taxes. See *ibid.*, p. 601.

31. There are many detailed accounts of this episode in various Armenian sources. Among the more important ones the reader may consult the eyewitness account of Vardan Baghishets'i, "Zhamanakagrut'iun" in Aghaniants', *Diwan*, X, 79-81. See also Ch'amch'ian, *Patmut'iun Hayots'*, III, chaps. 32-34; Sawalanians', *Patmut'iun Erusaghēmi*, I, 601-608; Hovhannēsians', *Zhamanakagrakan Patmut'iun*, I, 350-362.

32. Hovhannēsians', *Zhamanakagrakan Patmut'iun*, I, 385-386.

33. *Ibid.*, pp. 408-409; Sawalanians', *Patmut'iun Erusaghēmi*, I, 641-644.

34. A more detailed account of Patriarch Grigor Shght'ayakir's con-

structions will be found in Hovhannēsians', *Zhamanakagrakan Patmut'ün*, II, 9-14; Sawalanians', *Patmut'ün Erusaghēmi*, II, 742-749.

35. Hannē, *Girk' Patmut'ean*, p. 166; Örmānian, *Azgapatum*, col. 1968.

36. See text of this pact in Sawalanians', *Patmut'ün Erusaghēmi*, II, 715-717.

37. Hovhannēsians', *Zhamanakagrakan Patmut'ün*, II, 34-35.

38. *Ibid.*, pp. 37-39.

39. *Ibid.*, pp. 40-41.

40. Sawalanians', *Patmut'ün Erusaghēmi*, II, 721-723, relates the circumstances under which the Armenians succeeded in preventing Sultan Mahmut I from signing the edict which was to grant the monastery of St. James to the Greeks. Having learned that the sultan would sign the decree on the following morning, Patriarchs Hovhannēs Kolot and Grigor Shght'ayakir, after 2:00 A.M., went to the home of Harut'ün Muratian, banker to the sheyhul-islam, to seek his intercession with the latter. Muratian pleaded with this religious leader who proceeded forthwith to the imperial palace. When the bewildered sultan asked the purpose of this unusual visit, the sheyhul-islam is alleged to have replied that he had been unable to sleep because the Prophet Muhammad had thrice appeared to him in a vision, and had commanded him to see the sultan without delay. During this encounter the sheyhul-islam is said to have indirectly referred to the Greco-Armenian dispute. As a result, the sultan, checking the Armenian documents attesting to their ownership of the monastery, and also containing anathemas on those who deprived the Armenians of their important institution, canceled the edict which he was to grant to the Greeks, and issued a new Hatti-Sherif confirming the Armenians' ownership of the disputed monastery.

41. Sawalanians', *Patmut'ün Erusaghēmi*, II, 718-719.

42. Ch'amch'ian, *Patmut'ün Hayots'*, III, 811.

43. Sawalanians', *Patmut'ün Erusaghēmi*, II, 720.

44. Hovhannēsians', *Zhamanakagrakan Patmut'ün*, II, 55-60; Ch'amch'ian, *Patmut'ün Hayots'*, III, 811.

45. See texts in Hovhannēsians', *Zhamanakagrakan Patmut'ün*, II, 54-55; Sawalanians', *Patmut'ün Erusaghēmi*, II, 728-730.

46. Sawalanians', *Patmut'ün Erusaghēmi*, II, 730.

47. The text of the colophon, written in Patriarch Grigor's own hand in an Armenian MS. Gospel, is reproduced in *Siōn*, 1866, pp. 122f, 141f, 184f.

48. The details of this episode will be found in Sawalanians', *Patmut'ün Erusaghēmi*, II, 731-735; Hovhannēsians', *Zhamanakagrakan Patmut'ün*, II, 67-74.

49. See text of this edict in Hovhannēsians', *Zhamanakagrakan Patmut'ün*, II, 87-88. Cf. also Cust, *The Status Quo in the Holy Places*, p. 9; Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West*, vol. I, pt. ii, p. 250.

50. For more detailed accounts of these developments consult Hovhannēsians', *Zhamanakagrakan Patmut'ün*, II, 82-90; Sawalanians', *Patmut'ün Erusaghēmi*, II, 760-761.

51. The details of this episode will be found in Hovhannēsians', *Zhamanakagrakan Patmut'ün*, II, 101-102. In a letter dated May 13, 1760, and

addressed to the Armenian authorities at Constantinople, Patriarch T'ëodoros of Jerusalem gives a vivid account of the plight of his institution and community. See text of this document in *ibid.*, pp. 91-96.

52. *Ibid.*, p. 149.

53. *Ibid.*, p. 158.

54. *Ibid.*, pp. 160-162; cf. Sawalanians', *Patmut'iun Erusaghëmi*, II, 842-844.

55. Hovhannësiants', *Zhamanakagrakan Patmut'iun*, II, 163.

56. For the details of the bitter controversies involving these constructions and also the coercions suffered by the Greeks at the hands of the local Muslim population consult *ibid.*, 171-181; cf. also Sawalanians', *Patmut'iun Erusaghëmi*, II, 850-853.

57. Sawalanians', *Patmut'iun Erusaghëmi*, II, 854.

58. Përpërian, *Patmut'iun Hayots'*, pp. 59-60.

59. Hovhannësiants', *Zhamanakagrakan Patmut'iun*, II, 171-181.

60. Përpërian, *Patmut'iun Hayots'*, p. 60.

61. *Ibid.*, p. 61.

62. *Ibid.*, p. 61; Hovhannësiants', *Zhamanakagrakan Patmut'iun*, II, 183; Sawalanians', *Patmut'iun Erusaghëmi*, II, 855-857. It is alleged that, prior to the convening of the court, the Ottoman foreign minister, Emir Vahit Efendi, tried to force the Armenians to withdraw their suit; and that the sultan, having been informed of this, ordered the expeditious meeting of the judicial body.

63. For detailed accounts of these proceedings consult Sawalanians', *Patmut'iun Erusaghëmi*, II, 857-870; Hovhannësiants', *Zhamanakagrakan Patmut'iun*, II, 184-192. Cf. also the summary account in Örmelian, *Azgapatum*, cols. 2319-2320.

64. For fuller accounts of these proceedings see Sawalanians', *Patmut'iun Erusaghëmi*, II, 870-875; Hovhannësiants', *Zhamanakagrakan Patmut'iun*, II, 202-206.

65. During the court's first session in August 1809 the Greeks in Jerusalem unsuccessfully sought to win over the local Abyssinians by promising them the food rations which the Abyssinians customarily received from the Armenian monastery. They also made similar overtures to the small Coptic community, but to no avail. See Hovhannësiants', *Zhamanakagrakan Patmut'iun*, II, 192.

66. See text in Sawalanians', *Patmut'iun Erusaghëmi*, II, 874-875.

67. For an account of the developments that transpired in the intervening period consult *ibid.*, pp. 875-880.

68. The Armenian-script Turkish-language text of this edict will be found in *ibid.*, pp. 880-889. Cf. also Hovhannësiants', *Zhamanakagrakan Patmut'iun*, II, 222-229, which gives a translation of the text in classical Armenian. It is to be noted that the edict granted to the Greeks on the same date was identical to that issued to the Armenians.

69. Hovhannësiants', *Zhamanakagrakan Patmut'iun*, II, 221-222.

70. The details of these developments will be found in *ibid.*, pp. 229-279; Sawalanians', *Patmut'iun Erusaghëmi*, II, 889-899. For their part in the miscarriage of the sultan's orders, the qadi of Jerusalem was banished to Cyprus, and the commissioner Reshit Mustafa was first sentenced to

death and then exiled to Anaba on the Black Sea, where he was ordered to restore the city's fortress with the money he had received as a bribe from the Greeks.

71. See text of the decree in Sawalaniant's, *Patmut'iun Erusaghēmi*, II, 902-907.

72. For fuller accounts of the privileges secured on this occasion by the Armenians in the common sanctuaries at Jerusalem and Bethlehem consult *ibid.*, pp. 907-920; Hovhannēsiant's, *Zhamanakagrakan Patmut'iun*, II, 279-319.

73. Hovhannēsiant's, *Zhamanakagrakan Patmut'iun*, II, 235-236.

74. These financial statements will be found in Sawalaniant's, *Patmut'iun Erusaghēmi*, II, 921.

75. See details in *ibid.*, pp. 924-926.

76. *Ibid.*, pp. 926-929.

77. Hovhannēsiant's, *Zhamanakagrakan Patmut'iun*, II, 364-366.

78. Sawalaniant's, *Patmut'iun Erusaghēmi*, II, 949.

79. Hovhannēsiant's, *Zhamanakagrakan Patmut'iun*, II, 438-441.

80. Sawalaniant's, *Patmut'iun Erusaghēmi*, II, 971-972.

81. *Ibid.*, pp. 984-985; cf. also Hovhannēsiant's, *Zhamanakagrakan Patmut'iun*, II, 449.

82. For more detailed and complementary accounts of this episode consult Hovhannēsiant's, *Zhamanakagrakan Patmut'iun*, II, 454-502; Sawalaniant's, *Patmut'iun Erusaghēmi*, II, 993-999.

83. See Eugène Boré, *Question des Lieux Saints* (Paris, 1850). The tendentious arguments in this pamphlet supporting the Latin demands are refuted in Abbé G. H. Michon, *Solution nouvelle de la question des Lieux Saints* (Paris, 1852).

84. See text in Sawalaniant's, *Patmut'iun Erusaghēmi*, II, 1217-1218.

85. There is a large corpus of literature on the Crimean War. The more important works are: Viktor M. Anichkov, *Der feldzug in der Krim* (Berlin, 1857-1860); Edmond Bapst, *Les origines de la guerre de Crimée; La France et la Russie de 1848 à 1854* (Paris, [1912]); [César Lecat] baron de Bazancourt, *L'Expedition de Crimée jusqu'à la prise de Sébastopol; chroniques de la guerre d'Orient*, 2 vols. (Milan, 1856); M. I. Bogdanovich, *Vostochnaya voïna, 1853-1856*, 2d ed., revised and enlarged (St. Petersburg, 1877); Ermolai Burchuladze, *Krymskaia voïna i Gruzïia* (Tiflis, 1960); A. Du Casse, *La Crimée et Sébastopol de 1853 à 1856; Documents intimes et inédits* (Paris, 1892); F. H. Geffcken, *Zur geschichte des orientalischen krieges, 1853-1856* (Berlin, 1881); Eugène Guichen, *La Guerre de Crimée (1854-1856) et l'attitude des puissances européennes; Etude d'histoire diplomatique* (Paris, 1936); Sir Edward Hamley, *The War in the Crimea* (London, 1891); Alexander W. Kinglake, *The Invasion of the Crimea: Its Origin, and an Account of its Progress*, 9 vols. (Edinburgh, 1902); Sir George MacMunn, *The Crimea in Perspective* (London, 1935); G. Rothan, *Souvenirs diplomatiques; La Prussie et son roi pendant la guerre de Crimée* (Paris, 1888); C. Rousset, *Histoire de la guerre de Crimée* (Paris, 1877); 3d ed. in 2 vols., 1894); Evgenii V. Tarle, *Krymskaya voïna*, 2 vols. (Moscow, 1944-1945).

86. The text will be found in J. C. Hurewitz, *Diplomacy in the Near and Middle East; A Documentary Record: 1535-1914* (Princeton, N.J.), pp. 153-156 (see Article IX).

87. Cust, *The Status Quo in the Holy Places*, p. 12.

88. Sawalanians', *Patmut'iun Erusaghēmi*, II, 1132-1133.

89. *Ibid.*, pp. 1163-1165.

90. For an account of this episode consult *Khndir Srbazan Tegheats' ew nora Pashtōnakan K'nnut'iunn* (Jerusalem, 1871). Cf. also the eyewitness account in Sawalanians', *Patmut'iun Erusaghēmi*, II, 1162-1168.

91. In addition to Cust, *The Status Quo in the Holy Places*, see also Kiuregh Gabikian, "Haykakan Erusaghēm" in *Baïkar* (Boston), vol. XLI, nos. 34-43 (Feb. 9-20, 1963). The latter's summary of the Armenian holdings and privileges in the Holy Places agrees essentially with the information contained in the former.

92. For a discussion of the Greco-Armenian disputes concerning the discrepancy in the celebration of their Easter festivals and its relevance to the ceremony of the Holy Fire see my article in *Studia Caucasica* (The Hague), vol. II.

93. For a detailed description of the privileges and sanctuaries of the individual rites consult Abdullah Kardus, "The Status Quo in the Church of the Nativity, Bethlehem" in Cust, *The Status Quo in the Holy Places*.

94. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

95. For an interesting study of the legal questions involving the custodianship of the dominical sanctuaries in the Holy Land consult B. Collin, *Le Problème juridique de lieux Saints* (Cairo, 1956).

VIII. Administration of the Patriarchate's Religious Endowments

1. For specific references to the patriarchate's sources of revenue see Hovhannēsians', *Zhamanakagrakan Patmut'iun*; Sawalanians', *Patmut'iun Erusaghēmi*; Aghawnuni, *Miabank' ew Ayts'eluk'*.

2. Ormanian, *Haykakan Erusaghēm*, p. 158.

3. For the Ottoman system of taxation and finance in Syria see: Robert Mantran and Jean Sauvaget, *Règlements fiscaux ottomans; les provinces syriennes* (Paris, 1951); Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West*, vol. I, pt. 2, pp. 1-69. Consult also N. P. Aghnides, *Mohammedan Theories of Finance* (New York, 1916); Boris C. Nedkoff, *Die Gizya (Kopfsteuer) im Osmanischen Reich* (Sofia, 1942); Turkish trans. in *Belleten*, vol. VIII (1944); N. Çağatay, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Reayadan Alınan Vergi ve Resimler" in *Ankara Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fak. Dergisi*, vol. V (1947). Stanford J. Shaw, *The Financial and Administrative Organization and Development of Ottoman Egypt* (Princeton Oriental Series, Princeton, N.J., 1962), illustrates the application of the Ottoman theories of taxation and finance in a specific province.

4. Hovhannēsians', *Zhamanakagrakan Patmut'iun*, pp. 333-334.

5. Sawalanians', *Patmut'iun Erusaghēmi*, II, 708-709.

6. The Ottoman offices of state, including the governorships of the

provinces, were farmed out beginning early in the seventeenth century. In Syria itself the governors, accompanied by a qadi and a director of finance, succeeded each other at a headlong rate; between 1517 and 1679, for instance, Damascus, which had jurisdiction over the district of Jerusalem, had 133 governors. (A list of them and an account of these years is to be found in H. Laoust, *Les gouverneurs de Damas sous les Mamelouks et les premiers Ottomans*, Damascus, 1952.) The tax farmers, wanting to recover the cost of their position as quickly as possible, put pressure on the people; hence, corruption became the rule and lack of discipline habitual.

7. See text of the letter in Hovhannēsians', *Zhamanakagrakan Patmut'iun*, II, 91-96.

8. One of the most notoriously avaricious governors of Damascus was Hadimoghlu Mehmet Pasha. During his visit in 1778, for instance, he first collected from the Armenian Patriarch Hovakim 12,000 piasters in lawful taxes. Perhaps because in the previous year the patriarch had protested to the Armenian authorities at Constantinople against the pasha's arbitrary granting to the Latins of a considerable portion of the Armenian cemetery on Mount Zion, the governor, under various pretexts, also collected from the patriarchate 97,000 piasters in excess of the legally prescribed taxes. The details of this episode will be found in Sawalanians', *Patmut'iun Erusaghēmi*, II, 802.

9. See *ibid.*, pp. 740, 802-804; Hovhannēsians', *Zhamanakagrakan Patmut'iun*, II, 120, 432, 444-445.

10. Hovhannēsians', *Zhamanakagrakan Patmut'iun*, I, 256, 448-449.

11. For detailed discussions of the above, and also for the texts of a number of imperial edicts concerning the natives of Mount Zion, see *ibid.*, I, 273-277, 284-289, 326-329, 334-338, 410-414, 418, 426-428, 432, 452; II, 14-15, 33-34, 90-91, 97, 165, 175.

12. To cite an example, in 1797 the governor of Damascus imposed a fine of several purses of silver upon some villagers who had staged a revolt. Upon his departure these villagers blocked all the pilgrim routes to Jerusalem until the Latin, Greek, and Armenian communities compensated them for the amount which they had paid to the governor. See *ibid.*, II, 124.

13. Sawalanians', *Patmut'iun Erusaghēmi*, II, 804.

14. For instance, in February of 1804 Jezzar Pasha of Acre arrested and held in custody, under some pretext, Sheikh Haj 'Uthman of Abu-Ghush, and demanded 160 purses of silver from his family for his release. The villagers in turn held in custody some twenty-five Greek and Armenian pilgrims and refused to set them free until their patriarchates paid the ransom. Subsequent to the pasha's death, moreover, his successor, Isma'il Pasha, raised the ransom to 500 purses, an amount which the two communities were eventually compelled to provide to insure the freedom of their pilgrims and the release of 'Uthman. A detailed account of this episode will be found in *ibid.*, II, 831-832.

15. In the 1520's the Armenian patriarchate arrived at an agreement with the tax collectors at Bethlehem, whereby the latter were to receive no amount in excess of two piasters from each pilgrim visiting the church of the Nativity. See Hovhannēsians', *Zhamanakagrakan Patmut'iun*, I, 252.

16. See text of the agreement in *ibid.*, pp. 452-453.

17. In 1828, for instance, the governor of Damascus imposed a tax of 45 purses of silver upon the villagers of Bethlehem which was to be collected in his behalf by the mayor of Jerusalem; the order specifically enjoined that the Christian monasteries should not be molested on this account. With a view to ensuring the payment of the imposition, the governor held eight villagers in custody in the house of the deputy governor of Jerusalem. Soon after the governor's departure, however, the villagers set upon the three monasteries to force the monks into paying their obligation. Upon their refusal to comply, the villagers first attacked the Latin and Greek monasteries and thus coerced them into remitting 30 purses. The superintendent of the Armenian monastery pledged to bring the remaining 15 purses from Jerusalem; but when he failed to return the mobs robbed their monastery and church, and after locking up a number of monks in a cell set fire to it. When the Armenian authorities in Jerusalem protested to the mayor against these atrocities, they were told that Bethlehem was beyond the limits of his jurisdiction. In consequence, the Armenians, too, were compelled to remit 15 purses to the villagers. See *ibid.*, II, 75-76, 425-426.

18. Sawalaniant's, *Patmut'iun Erusaghēmi*, I, 561-562.

19. For an eyewitness account of these developments consult *Zhamanakagrut'iun Daranaghts'woy*, pp. 320-322. See also colophon of MS. no. 338 (Jerusalem); Alishan, *Sisuan*, p. 221; Sawalaniant's, *Patmut'iun Erusaghēmi*, I, 562-564; Kiulēsērian, *Patmut'iun*, pp. 155-162.

20. *Zhamanakagrut'iun Daranaghts'woy*, pp. 324-327.

21. Sawalaniant's, *Patmut'iun Erusaghēmi*, II, 792-795.

22. For a more detailed account of these developments consult Hovhannēsiant's, *Zhamanakagrakan Patmut'iun*, II, 126-130.

23. *Ibid.*, pp. 130-131.

24. *Ibid.*, pp. 132-138. It should be pointed out that, subsequent to his recovery of Egypt from the French, the pasha not only repaid the loans which he had obtained from the Greek and Armenian patriarchates but sent gifts and monetary rewards to these institutions in appreciation of their timely assistance.

25. Sawalaniant's, *Patmut'iun Erusaghēmi*, II, 823-830.

26. For detailed accounts of these developments consult *ibid.*, pp. 832-836.

27. Hovhannēsiant's, *Zhamanakagrakan Patmut'iun*, II, 157-158.

28. *Ibid.*, pp. 173-174.

29. Sawalaniant's, *Patmut'iun Erusaghēmi*, II, 936-937.

30. See detailed account in Hovhannēsiant's, *Zhamanakagrakan Patmut'iun*, II, 384-395.

31. Anderson, *History of Missions*, I, 26.

32. Hovhannēsiant's, *Zhamanakagrakan Patmut'iun*, II, 399-400.

33. A summary of the letter will be found in *ibid.*, pp. 401-402.

34. *Ibid.*, pp. 405-406, 410-411.

35. *Ibid.*, pp. 416-421.

36. For a detailed account of the circumstances regarding the qadi's issuance of the writ consult *ibid.*, pp. 421-425.

37. *Ibid.*, pp. 427-431, 435-437, 447-448, 470-473; Sawalaniant's, *Patmut'iun Erusaghēmi*, II, 966-968.

38. Hovhannēsians', *Zhamanakagrakan Patmut'ian*, II, 432, 444-445.
 39. E. Smith, *Researches of the Rev. E. Smith and Rev. H. G. O. Dwight in Armenia: Including a Journey through Asia Minor, and into Georgia and Persia, with a Visit to the Nestorian and Chaldean Christians of Oormiah and Salmas*, 2 vols. (Boston, 1833), I, 63.

IX. The Catholicosate of Cilicia

1. Kiulēsērian, *Patmut'ian*, pp. 8, 1127, 1188.
2. For a contemporary account of the reasons for and the circumstances of the transfer of the pontificate from Sis to Etchmiadzin see *T'ovmas Metsop'ets'u Hishatakarane*, ed. Karapet Kostanians' (Vagarshapat, 1892). See also encyclical letter issued by Catholicos Kirakos Virapets'i in MS. no. 182 in Artawazd Siurmēian, *Mayr Ts'uts'ak Hayerēn Dzerhagrats' Eru-saghēmi Srbots' Hakobeants' Vank'i*, vol. I (Venice, 1948), pp. 152a-157a. For critical examinations of these two documents see Kiulēsērian, *Patmut'ian*, pp. 1141-1165; Ōrmanian, *Azgapatum*, col. 1447.
3. Kiulēsērian, *Patmut'ian*, p. 1213.
4. For contemporary references to this historic event consult Kha-ch'ikyan, *XV Dari . . . Hishatakaranner*, pt. 1, pp. 531-532, 536.
5. Ōrmanian, *Azgapatum*, col. 1447.
6. *T'ovmas Metsop'ets'u Hishatakarane*, pp. 84-85; *Zhamanakagrut'ian Daranaght'swoy*, p. 310.
7. Ch'amch'ian, *Patmut'ian Hayots'*, III, 491.
8. Kiulēsērian, *Patmut'ian*, pp. 49, 1214; Ōrmanian, *Azgapatum*, col. 1479.
9. Kiulēsērian, *Patmut'ian*, p. 65; Ōrmanian, *Azgapatum*, col. 1524. See also colophon of MS. no. 1043 (Jerusalem), copied in 1475, which fails to mention the name of the catholicos of Etchmiadzin among the various hierarchs of the Armenian church. On the other hand, Ch'amch'ian (*Patmut'ian Hayots'*, III, 491) claims that it was Karapet's successor, Step'annos Saradzorets'i (1478-1488), who actually attempted to abolish the see of Etchmiadzin.
10. Ōrmanian, *Azgapatum*, col. 1480.
11. *Ibid.*, col. 1579.
12. For references to the Kozan-Oghlu *derebays* consult article "Derebey" by J. H. Mordtmann-B. Lewis in *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (new ed.), pp. 206-208; article "Cilicia" by M. Canard in *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (new ed.), pp. 34-39; V. Langlois, "Les Arméniens en Turquie et les massacres du Taurus" in *Revue des deux mondes*, 1863, pp. 960-991; Langlois, *Voyage dans la Cilicie et dans les montagnes du Taurus* (Paris, 1861), p. 432; A. de la Jonquière, *Histoire de l'empire ottoman*, II, 518; Aghaniants', *Diwan*, IV, 729-730; Mamikon Varzhapetian, *Hushikk' Zēyt'uni* (Marsovan, 1912), p. 112; K'ēlēshian, *Sis-Matean*, pp. 67, 83, 91-111, 240.
13. Kiulēsērian, *Patmut'ian*, pp. 136-138, 1349-1350; Ōrmanian, *Azgapatum*, col. 1563.
14. Aghaniants', *Diwan*, IV, 720.

15. For more detailed discussions of the Aleppine rival catholicosate consult *Zhamanakagrut'iun Daranaghts'woy*, pp. 329-330; Ōrmanian, *Azgapatum*, cols. 1577, 1753, 1777, 1816, 1960; Kiulēsērian, *Patmut'iun*, pp. 207, 239-241, 254-265, 419, 692; Ch'amch'ian, *Patmut'iun Hayots'*, III, 528, 536.

16. Kiulēsērian, *Patmut'iun*, pp. 387-388.

17. *Zhamanakagrut'iun Daranaghts'woy*, pp. 337-338.

18. The text of this historically interesting document is lost, but we learn of its contents from Catholicos Simēon's reply, which quotes it liberally.

19. See text in *Hayrapetakan At'orhi Masin Hamarhōt Tesut'iun; T'ught' Simēoni Ssoy Kat'oghikosi arh P'ilippos Ejmiatsni Kat'oghikos* (Vagarshapat, 1904). A reprint of the original text, as well as an edited version in modern Armenian, will be found in Kiulēsērian, *Patmut'iun*, pp. 315-338, 1227-1252.

20. This exchange of correspondence is analyzed in Ōrmanian, *Azgapatum*, cols. 1682-1685, and Kiulēsērian, *Patmut'iun*, pp. 1215-1226. The former concentrates, in the main, on the fundamental canonical and jurisdictional issues, and also points to the numerous historical errors in Simēon's reply. In contrast, Kiulēsērian, while critical of Simēon's abusive language, attempts to justify his action by arguing that it was prompted by P'ilippos' own "offensive" and "scornful" encyclical, and also by his determination to subordinate the Cilician see. Nevertheless, he not only side-steps the central issue of the canonical and administrative jurisdictions of the two sees, but also contradicts his own arguments by asserting that, since the supremacy of the see of Etchmiadzin was universally recognized, the Cilician catholicosates were unjustified in ordaining bishops for communities which were beyond their spheres of authority.

21. See details in Sawalanians', *Patmut'iun Erusaghēmi*, I, 587-588.

22. For a contemporary account of this conference consult Arhak'el Dawrizhets'i, *Patmut'iun Hayots'* (Vagarshapat, 1896), pp. 250, 255-257, 414-415.

23. Dawrizhets'i, *Patmut'iun Hayots'*, pp. 255-257.

24. Ōrmanian, *Azgapatum*, col. 1691; cf. Mkhitar'iants', *Patmut'iun Zhoghovots' Hayastaneayts' Handerdz Kanonagrut'eamb*, p. 146, who claims that Catholicos P'ilippos was so desirous of a rapprochement with the Cilician see that he made concessions to the latter, particularly in view of his apprehensions of the Latinophile tendencies then prevalent at Sis.

25. For a bibliography on the Ajapahian catholicosal dynasty see Anasyan, *Haykakan Matenagitut'iun*, I, 1057-1058. The original sources include Aghaniants', *Diwan*, IV (Addenda), pp. 720-721, 729-730, 738; Tashian, *Ts'uts'ak Hayerēn Dzerhagrats' Matenadaranin Mkhitar'iants' i Vienna*, pp. 358-359; Alishan, *Sisuan*, pp. 163, 219-221, 535, 539-540. Among the secondary sources the reader may consult Ōrmanian, *Azgapatum*, cols. 3172-3173; Kiulēsērian, *Patmut'iun*, pp. 472-473, 483-484, 1334-1337, 1350-1351; Kiulēsērian, "Kilikioy Ajapahiants' Tsagumn u Hamanun Kat'oghikosner" in T'eōdik's *Amenun Tarets'oyts'ē*, 1926, vol. XX (Venice, n.d.), pp. 603-610; Izmirlian, *Hayrapetut'iun*.

26. Kiulēsērian, *Patmut'iun*, pp. 1337-1339, 1351-1352.

27. For further details consult Aghaniants', *Diwan*, X, 481; Ch'amch'ian,

Patmut'ün Hayots', III, 878; Alishan, *Sisuan*, p. 219; Örmānian, *Azgapatum*, cols. 2104, 2172-2173; Kiulēsērian, *Patmut'ün*, pp. 490, 501-504, 560.

28. Kiulēsērian, *Patmut'ün*, p. 617.

29. See text of encyclical in Kiulēsērian, *Patmut'ün*, pp. 1421-1428.

30. K'ēlēshian, *Sis-Matean*, p. 243.

31. For a more detailed account of these conditions consult Ismirlian, *Hayrapetut'ün*, pp. 481, 485-496; Kiulēsērian, *Patmut'ün*, pp. 609-617.

32. Kiulēsērian, *Patmut'ün*, pp. 677-678.

33. See details in Örmānian, *Azgapatum*, col. 2757.

34. The text of this encyclical will be found in Ismirlian, *Hayrapetut'ün*, pp. 676-683.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 533.

36. *Ibid.*, pp. 644-650.

37. *Ibid.*, pp. 686-687, 691-694.

38. The council's ten recommendations will be found in *ibid.*, pp. 702-710.

39. See text of this encyclical in *ibid.*, pp. 711-735. Following the resignation of Patriarch T'ak't'ak'ian, Catholicos Gēorg sent a similar communication to the former's successor, Mkrtich' Khrimian. See text in *ibid.*, pp. 757-774.

40. See text of "Polozhenie o upravlenii dukhovnykh del khristian armano-grigorianskogo ispovedovaniia" in *Svod Zakonov*, vol. XI, pt. 1, bk. III. For a discussion of the reaction of the patriarchate of Constantinople to the *Polozhenie* consult Sarukhan, *Haykakan Khndirn*, I, 37-43, 305-309.

41. For a detailed discussion and analysis of the provisions of the *Polozhenie* consult Örmānian, *Azgapatum*, cols. 2515-2529.

42. *Ibid.*, col. 2815.

43. See details in *ibid.*, col. 2816.

44. *Ibid.*

45. *Ibid.*, col. 2771.

46. *Ibid.*, col. 2817; Ismirlian, *Hayrapetut'ün*, p. 865.

47. See text of the regulations, as well as the national assembly's resolution, in Ismirlian, *Hayrapetut'ün*, pp. 886-890.

48. *Ibid.*, pp. 896, 898-905.

49. The text of Khrimian's letter will be found in *ibid.*, pp. 925-950.

50. See text of Catholicos Gēorg's letter in *ibid.*, pp. 951-970.

51. For a discussion of K'ēfsizian's controversies with his constituents at Sis consult K'ēlēshian, *Sis-Matean*, pp. 247-248, 252-253.

52. Ismirlian, *Hayrapetut'ün*, pp. 1079-1082.

53. Örmānian, *Azgapatum*, col. 2839.

54. The text of these regulations will be found in Kiulēsērian, *Patmut'ün*, pp. 732-735.

55. *Ibid.*, p. 735.

56. *Ibid.*, pp. 736-738; Ismirlian, *Hayrapetut'ün*, pp. 1098-1103.

57. See text of Varzhapetian's letter in Ismirlian, *Hayrapetut'ün*, pp. 1123-1130.

58. See text of this declaration in *ibid.*, pp. 1134-1146.

59. Örmānian, *Azgapatum*, col. 2859.
60. İzmirlian, *Hayrapetut'iun*, pp. 1257-1259.
61. See *Arak's* (St. Petersburg), no. 126 (1895).
62. The text of this encyclical will be found in İzmirlian, *Hayrapetut'iun*, pp. 1226-1241; see also Kiulēsērian, *Patmut'iun*, pp. 753-758.
63. See text of the Cilicians' report submitted to the central administration in İzmirlian, *Hayrapetut'iun*, pp. 1269-1274; also Kiulēsērian, *Patmut'iun*, pp. 759-760.
64. İzmirlian, *Hayrapetut'iun*, p. 1277.
65. See text in *Masis*, no. 3045 (1881).
66. *Ibid.*, no. 3047 (1881).
67. *Ibid.*
68. *P'unj* (Constantinople), no. 1668 (1882).
69. Kiulēsērian, *Patmut'iun*, p. 763.
70. Örmānian, *Azgapatum*, col. 2895.
71. *Arzagank'* (Tiflis), nos. 157-160 (1884).
72. A detailed account of K'ēfsizian's overtures to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Anglican delegation's mission to Cilicia will be found in K'ēlēshian, *Sis-Matean*, pp. 253-255.
73. For biographical information concerning K'ēfsizian's career prior to his elevation to the catholicosal office see Kiulēsērian, *Patmut'iun*, pp. 693-714.
74. *Arewelk'* (Constantinople), no. 3409 (1895).
75. K'ēlēshian, *Sis-Matean*, pp. 230-231.
76. *Arewelk'*, nos. 3411, 3429 (1895).
77. Maghak'ia Örmānian, *Hishatakagirk' Erkotasanameay Patriark'ut'ean* (Constantinople, 1910), p. 67.
78. *Ibid.*, pp. 67-68.
79. Örmānian, *Azgapatum*, col. 3016.
80. *Ibid.*, col. 3017.
81. *Ibid.*
82. *Ibid.*, col. 3018.
83. For the letters exchanged between Örmānian, Khirmian and Erēts'ian, concerning Erēts'ian's refusal to assume the catholicosal office at Sis, see Kiulēsērian, *Patmut'iun*, pp. 781-809.
84. Örmānian, *Azgapatum*, col. 3020.
85. *Biuzandion* (Constantinople), no. 1915 (1903).
86. *Ibid.*, no. 1902 (1898).
87. Örmānian, *Azgapatum*, col. 3022; Kiulēsērian, *Patmut'iun*, p. 815.
88. See text of the encyclical in Kiulēsērian, *Patmut'iun*, pp. 843-858.
89. Örmānian, *Azgapatum*, col. 3077.
90. *Ibid.*
91. The text of Sahak's letter to Khirmian is to be found in Kiulēsērian, *Patmut'iun*, pp. 891-893.
92. See text in *ibid.*, pp. 894-897.
93. Örmānian, *Azgapatum*, col. 3078.
94. A more detailed presentation of Örmānian's views will be found in *ibid.*, col. 3077.

95. See details concerning this episode in *ibid.*, col. 3078; cf. Kiulēsērian, *Patmut'ün*, p. 898.
96. Ōrmanian, *Azgapatum*, col. 3078.
97. Sahak's letter to Khrimian and the text of the oath will be found in Kiulēsērian, *Patmut'ün*, pp. 899–903.
98. See text of these proposals in *ibid.*, pp. 903–907.
99. Ōrmanian, *Azgapatum*, col. 3079.
100. See text of Khrimian's letter in Kiulēsērian, *Patmut'ün*, pp. 1438–1440.
101. For an account of Sahak's private meeting with Jemal Pasha in Jerusalem consult *ibid.*, pp. 925–928.
102. An Armenian translation of the official text will be found in Zawēn Ark'episkopos, *Patriark'akan Hushers: Vauweraginner ew Vkayut'unner* (Cairo, 1947), p. 192.
103. The text of the regulations, in Turkish and in Armenian translation, will be found in *Ermeni Gatogikoslik ve Patrikligi Nizamnamesi* (Jerusalem, 1917).

X. The Bishopric of Aleppo

1. Siurmēian, *Ts'uts'ak Hayerēn Dzerhagrats' Halēpi*, I, 151a. See also Siurmēian, *Patmut'ün Halēpi Hayots'*, II, 447, 466; III, 30–33.
2. Siurmēian, *Patmut'ün Halēpi Hayots'*, III, 47–48.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 61–64.
4. *Ibid.*, II, 506. Siurmēian also claims that Khōcha Petik was the *subashi* or commander of the police force at Aleppo. Since this office was reserved to an agha or *kehya* of the local Janissaries, his assertion seems to be based on some misunderstanding.
5. For a more detailed account of the commercial enterprises of Petik and Sanos consult *ibid.*, III, 272, 288–316, 319–321, 352–373. The most valuable source, containing numerous documents and statistics, concerning the trade of Dutch companies with the eastern Mediterranean ports during the years 1590–1726 is K. Keeringa, *Bronnen Tot de Geschiedenis van den Levantschen Handel*, 3 vols. (The Hague, 1910–1917). The commercial dealings of Petik and Sanos with Dutch firms were handled through the Dutch consul to Aleppo, Cornelio Pauw. It is also asserted that six other Armenian Aleppine merchants concluded a trade agreement at Amsterdam in November 1627 with the firm of Jan Steen. See Siurmēian, *ibid.*, I, 96, 485–486.
6. Some years later Sanos also built a magnificent Armenian cathedral at Erzurum.
7. Siurmēian, *Patmut'ün Halēpi Hayots'*, III, 728–729.
8. Alexander Russell, *The Natural History of Aleppo*, 2 vols. (2d ed.; London, 1794), II, 28; see also Siurmēian, III, 505.
9. Siurmēian, III, 725.
10. The activities of the Dasatun are described in some detail in *Zhamakagrut'ün Daranaghts'woy*, pp. 408–410, and *Simēon Dpri Lehats'woy Ughegrut'ün*, p. 317, both of which are eyewitness accounts. Among the secondary sources consult Siurmēian, III, 75–83, 146–227; N. Akinian,

"Hay Keank'ë Halëpi Mëj, 1605-1635" in *HA*, vol. 47 (1933), pp. 312-315.

11. *Simëon Dpři Lehats'woy Ughegrut'iun*, p. 317.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 774.
13. *Ibid.*, pp. 757-758.
14. *Ibid.*, pp. 767-769.
15. The details of this controversy will be found in L'Abbé Paul Carali (ed.), *Les Principaux événements d'Alep dans la 1^{re} moitié du 19^e siècle, d'après les édites de l'Evêque Maronite Paul AROUTINE* (Heliopolis, n.d.).
16. The location of the adjacent Armenian, Greek, and Maronite churches was such that the congregations of the last two always used the gates of the Armenian churches to enter their own sanctuaries. In 1849 the Maronites attempted to appropriate one of the Armenian gates for their exclusive use, but without success. See details of this incident in Hovhannēsians', "Karch Chanaparhordut'iun" in *Siôn*, vol. III (1868), nos. 9-10.
17. Siurmëian, *Patmut'iun Halëpi Hayots'*, III, 778-779.
18. The details concerning this episode will be found in Kiulësërian, *Patmut'iun*, pp. 633, 785; Siurmëian, III, 777, 782, 784-785, 812-813.
19. See texts of the two petitions in Siurmëian, III, 816-818.
20. *Ibid.*, pp. 815, 819.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 814.
22. *Ibid.*, pp. 819-820.
23. *Ibid.*, pp. 826-827.
24. *Ibid.*, pp. 745-746; Kiulësërian, *Patmut'iun*, pp. 606, 875-876.
25. See *Endhanur Ts'uts'ak Tachkastani Hayabnak Gawarhats', K'agha-kats', Giughak'aghak'ats' ew Ereweli Giughörëits'* (Constantinople, 1864).
26. See text of the report in *AA*, vol. XXVII, no. 808 (June 24, 1867).
27. *Siôn*, Oct. 1866, pp. 151-154.
28. Siurmëian, *Patmut'iun Halëpi Hayots'*, III, 835.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 836.
30. *Ibid.*, pp. 842-844.
31. For the first session of the Aleppine provincial assembly see *ibid.*, pp. 844-845.
32. The list of the deputies, indicating the various constituencies they represented, will be found in *ibid.*, p. 846.
33. Consult *ibid.*, pp. 848-858.
34. *Ibid.*, pp. 859, 892.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 870.
36. *Ibid.*, pp. 867, 892.
37. For a contemporary account of the Aleppine bishopric's internal situation consult M. Kajuni, "Halëpi Hayerë" in *Ardzagank'* (Tiflis), vol. VII, no. 1 (Jan. 17, 1888), pp. 15-16.
38. *Masis*, no. 2833 (March 15, 1881); also Siurmëian, *Patmut'iun Halëpi Hayots'*, III, 887-888, 896.

XI. The Armenian Question and Its Impact on the Syrian Communities

1. Ubicini, *Lettres sur la Turquie*, II, 347; see also Victor Bérard, *La Politique du Sultan* (4th ed., Paris, 1897), p. 149. For Ottoman-Armenian

relations prior to 1878, written from the Turkish point of view, see Esat Uras, *Tarihte Ermeniler ve Ermeni Meselesi* (Ankara, 1950), pp. 151-157. The biographies of many Armenians who served the Ottoman government in various capacities will be found in Zardarian's two-volume *Hishatakaran*, and also in Y. G. Çark, *Türk Devleti Hizmetinde Ermeniler, 1453-1953* (Istanbul, 1953).

2. Although there is a large corpus of literature on the Armenian Question and the massacres, there is as yet no definitive and objective study of the subject. The available works are, for the most part, one-sided, and the more recent monographic studies have very little fresh information. Any new attempt to write a comprehensive history of this phase of Ottoman-Armenian relations must utilize hitherto untapped materials, notably in the Ottoman archives, and the documents preserved in Russian and European chanceries.

For documentary materials, which have already been utilized in several monographic studies, consult: British Foreign Office, *British and Foreign State Papers: 1853-1882*; British Foreign Office, *Accounts and Papers: 1878-1898*; U.S. Department of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States: 1893, 1894, 1895*; Gabriël Lazian, *Hayastan ew Hay Datê êst Dashnageru* (Cairo, 1942); Lëo [Arhak'el Babakhanian], *Hayots' Harts'i Vaweragerê* (Tiflis, 1915).

For general or monographic works in Western languages see: Edwin W. Bliss, *Turkey and the Armenian Atrocities* (Philadelphia, 1896); P. Cambon, *Affaires arméniennes: Projets de réformes dans l'Empire ottoman, 1893-1897* (Paris, 1897); Emile Doumerge, *L'Arménie, les massacres et la question d'Orient* (Paris, 1916); Frederick Davis Greene, *The Armenian Crisis in Turkey: The Massacres of 1894, its Antecedents and Significance* (New York, 1895); *Armenian Massacres or the Sword of Mohammed*, ed. Henry Davenport Northrop (American Oxford Publishing Co., n.d.); William L. Langer, *Diplomacy of Imperialism, 1890-1902* (New York, 1935), vol. I, chaps. v, vii, x; Johannes Lepsius, *Armenia and Europe* (London, 1897); H. F. B. Lynch, *Armenia*, 2 vols. (London, 1901); J. A. R. Marriott, *The Eastern Question* (London, 1924); J. Missakian, *A Searchlight on the Armenian Question* (Boston, 1950); M. G. Rolin-Jaequemyns, *Armenia, the Armenians, and the Treaties* (London, 1891); A. O. Sarkissian, *History of the Armenian Question to 1885* (Urbana, Ill., 1938), which provides an excellent, comprehensive bibliography; A. O. Sarkissian, "Concert Diplomacy and the Armenians, 1890-1897" in *Studies in Diplomatic History and Historiography*, ed. A. O. Sarkissian (London, 1961), pp. 48-75; Louise Nalbandian, *The Armenian Revolutionary Movement: The Development of Armenian Political Parties through the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1963); Simon Vratzian, *The Armenian Question* (Boston, n.d.); J. Laurent, "Les Origines médiévales de la question arménienne" in *Revue des études arméniennes*, 1 (1920): 35-54.

Among the numerous studies in Armenian the reader may consult: B. Ishkhanian, *Tachkahay Khndirê ew Mtjazgayin Diplomatean* (Tiflis, 1906); Lëo [Arhak'el Babakhanian], *Tiurk'ahay Heghap'okhut'ean Gaghap'arabanut'iunê* (Paris, 1934); Sarukhan, *Haykakan Khndirn*; K. T'umayian, *Patmu-*

t'iun Arewelian Khndroy ew Arhajnord Haykakan Harts'i, 2 vols. (London, 1905); Mik'ayēl Varandian, *Haykakan Sharzhman Nakhapatmut'iun* (Geneva, 1914).

3. For works on the Cilician massacres of 1909 consult: Georges Brézal, *Les Turcs ont passé là; la vérité sur les massacres d'Adana de 1909* (Paris, 1911); Mgr. Mouchegh [Mushegh Serobian], *Les Vêpres ciliciennes, les responsabilités, faits et documents* (Alexandria, 1909); H. Gibbons, *The Red Rugs of Tarsus; A Woman's Record of the Armenian Massacres of 1909* (New York, 1917); Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, cols. 3116-3121; Hakob Y. T'ertzian, *Kilikioy Aghētē, Akanatesi Nkaragruṭ'iunner, Vawerat'ugh'ter, Ewayln* (Constantinople, 1912); Giut Mkhit'arian, *Kilikean Kskitsner, Ssoy Kat'oghikosarani Diwanēn K'aghuats Namakneru Patchenner, 1903-1915* (MS., 1916, 176pp.).

4. K'ēlēshian, *Sis-Matean*, p. 551.

5. Jacquot, *Antioche*, II, 313-314.

6. An Armenian translation of Sabattino's letter to Mgr. Giannini, the apostolic delegate at Beirut, will be found in T'ēmirian, *K'ēsap*, pp. 55-65.

7. Brézal, *Les Turcs*, pp. 262-265; T'ertzian, *Kilikioy Aghētē*, p. 802.

8. Jacquot, *Antioche*, III, 506-507.

9. See "Chēpēl Musayi Hayabnak Giugherē" in *Awetaber*, vol. 63 (Oct. 1, 1910), pp. 914-915, 944.

10. Jacquot, *Antioche*, II, 314.

11. *Ibid.*, III, 507.

12. For a discussion of the rehabilitation efforts in Cilicia consult T'ertzian, *Kilikioy Aghētē*, pp. 151-153, 811, 814-822, 831-833, 835.

13. *Alpom K'esapi*, p. 11.

14. The activities of the tribunals and of the investigative commissions are discussed in T'ertzian, *Kilikioy Aghētē*, pp. 340f; cf. also Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, cols. 3120-3121.

15. For accounts of the massacres during World War I consult: H. Morgenthau, *Ambassador Morgenthau's Story* (New York, 1918); A. P. Hacobian, *Armenia and the War* (New York, 1917); B. Papazian, *The Tragedy of Armenia* (Boston, 1918); Herbert A. Gibbons, *The Blackest Page of Modern History; Events in Armenia in 1915; The Facts and the Responsibilities* (New York, 1916); *The Treatment of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire, 1915-16; Documents Presented to Viscount Grey of Fallodon by Viscount Bryce* (London, 1916); Arnold J. Toynbee, *Armenian Atrocities, the Murder of a Nation* (London, New York, and elsewhere, 1915). See also works cited in note 2 above.

16. Jacquot, *Antioche*, II, 315.

17. T'ēmirian, *K'ēsap*, pp. 78-80.

18. *Ibid.*, pp. 66-71; Jacquot, *Antioche*, II, 316.

19. See Movsēs Oskerich'ian, "Lat'ak'ioy Hay Gaghutē" in *Suriahay Tarets'oyts'*, 1925, pp. 216-218.

20. For eyewitness accounts of the resistance of Musa Dagħ Armenians in 1915 consult: Habet' M. Iskēndērian, *Suētioy Apstambut'iunē* (Cairo, 1915); H. G. Pursalian, *Musa Leran Herosamartē* (Aleppo, 1954); E. Karikian, *Druagner Suētioy Heghap'okhu'eān Patmut'enēn* (Paris, 1921).

See also Jacquot, *Antioche*, II, 315–316, and III, 502–504; T'ēmīrian, *K'ēsap*, pp. 74–75.

21. Varzhapetian, *Hayerē Libanani Měj*, pp. 433–435.

22. See text in League of Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. LIV, nos. 1–4 (1926–1927), pp. 177–193. For a discussion of the background and consummation of this Franco-Turkish agreement see Avedis K. Sanjian, “The Sanjak of Alexandretta (Hatay): A Study in Franco-Turco-Syrian Relations” (unpub. diss., University of Michigan, 1956), pp. 18–23.

23. For the most authoritative study of the French occupation of Cilicia, as well as of the French pledges to the Cilician Armenians, consult Paul du Vèou, *La Passion de la Cilicie, 1919–1922* (7th ed., Paris, 1937).

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